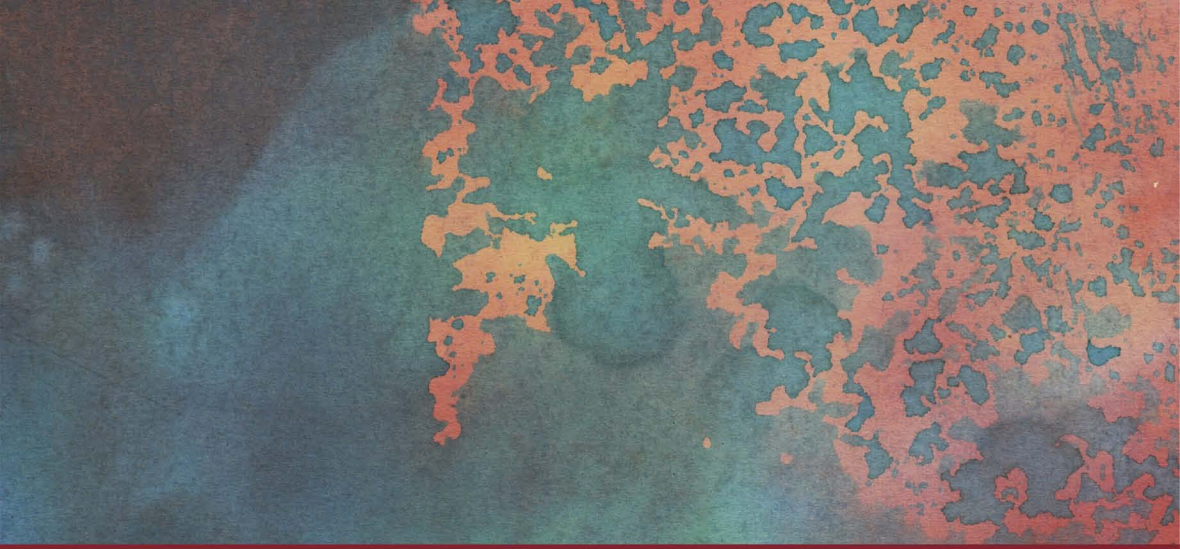
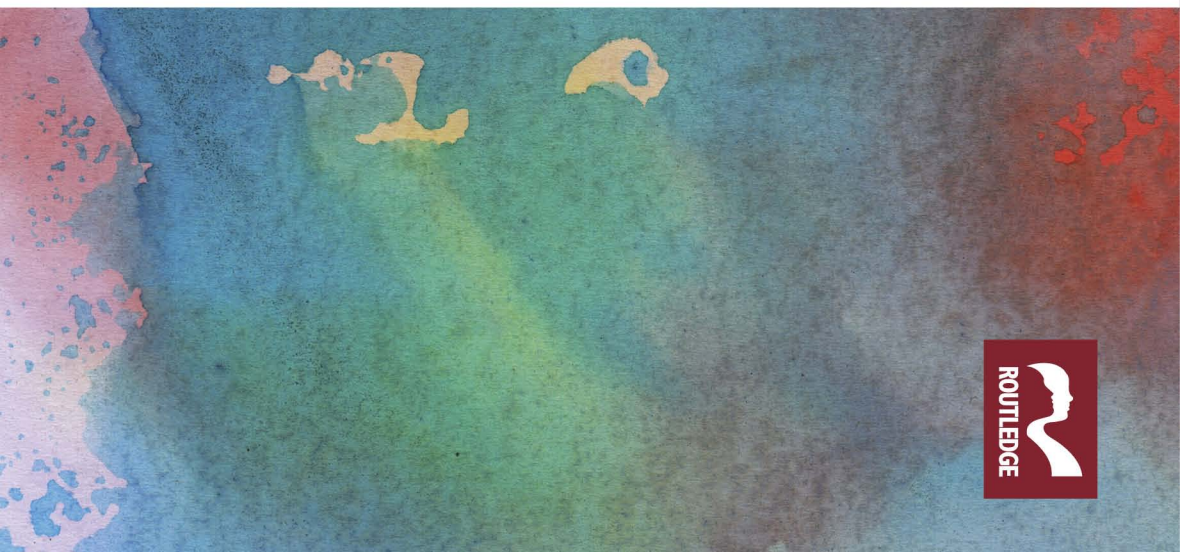


Routledge Studies in South Asian Politics

PAKISTAN'S SECURITY AND THE INDIA–US STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

NUCLEAR POLITICS AND SECURITY COMPETITION

Syed Shahid Hussain Bukhari



Pakistan's Security and the India–US Strategic Partnership

This book explores the relationship between the developing India–US Strategic Partnership and Pakistan's security. It assesses India and the US's areas of cooperation to show that the partnership will bring drastic changes for India's military capabilities and modernization of its forces.

The book shows that, in addition to enhancing India's domestic nuclear stockpiles through the nuclear cooperation agreement, collaboration in high-tech areas such as space and innovative technologies will enable India to acquire sophisticated delivery systems as well as surveillance capacity. The author argues that these advancements will enable India to destabilize the strategic balance in the region. The book also briefly explores the nuclear doctrines of India and Pakistan that provide an insight into the role of nuclear weapons in maintaining deterrence in the region. To understand the power dynamics caused by the strategic partnership and their impact on strategic stability in South Asia, the author utilizes the Balance of Power and Power Transition theories.

A timely analysis of the India–US Strategic Partnership with a Pakistan angle, the book will be of interest to academics working in the fields of Asian security, Asian politics, especially South Asia, strategic studies, international relations, political science, nuclear non-proliferation, conflict studies, arms control, and security studies.

Syed Shahid Hussain Bukhari is Associate Professor in International Relations at Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, Pakistan.

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Pakistan's Security and the India–US Strategic Partnership

Nuclear Politics and Security Competition

Syed Shahid Hussain Bukhari

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I dedicate this work to my parents and teachers.

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Abbreviations

ASFC	Army Strategic Force Command
BECA	Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement
BMD	Ballistic Missile Defense
BOP	Balance of Power
BVR	Beyond Visual Range
CAASTA	Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act
CAS	Chief of Air Staff
CD	Conference on Disarmament
CDS	Chief of Defense Staff
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CFL	Cease-Fire Line
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIRUS	Canada India Reactor Utility Services
CISMOA	Communication Interoperability and Security Memorandum Agreement
CJCSC	Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee
CNS	Chief of Naval Staff
COAS	Chief of Army Staff
COMCASA	Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement
DAE	Department of Atomic Energy
DPG	Defense Policy Group
DRDO	Defence Research and Development Organisation
DTTI	Defense Technology and Trade Initiative
ESG	Executive Steering Groups
FMCT	Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
HTCG	High Technology Cooperation Group
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IAF	Indian Air Force
ICBM	Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
IEA	Information Exchange Annex
IRBM	Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missile

ISPR	Inter-Services Public Relations
ISRO	Indian Space Research Organisation
ITER	International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor
ITR	Integrated Test Range
JSF	Joint Strike Force
KKP	Karakoram Pass
LCA	Light Combat Aircraft
LEMOA	Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement
LoC	Line of Control
LSA	Logistics Support Agreement
MBT	Main Battle Tank
MMRCA	Medium Multi-Role Combat Aircraft
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MRBM	Medium-Range Ballistic Missile
MTCR	Missile Technology Control Regime
MW	Megawatt
NA	Not Available
NCA	National Command Authority
NFU	No First Use
NNPA	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act
NNWS	Non-Nuclear Weapon State
NWS	Nuclear Weapon State
NPT	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
NRC	Nuclear Regulatory Commission
NSG	Nuclear Suppliers Group
NSSP	Next Step Strategic Partnership
OBL	Osama Bin Laden
PAF	Pakistan Air Force
PHWR	Pressurized Heavy-Water Reactors
PREFRE	Power Reactor Fuel Reprocessing Plant
PT	Power Transition
RCCE	Reconnaissance
RIMPAC	Rim of Pacific
SEATO	Southeast Asian Treaty Organization
SFC	Strategic Force Command
SOP	String of Pearls
SPD	Strategic Plan Division
SRBM	Short-Range Ballistic Missile
STA-1	Strategic Trade Authorization-1
UAV	Unmanned Air Vehicle
UNCIP	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States
VCOAS	Vice Chief of Army Staff
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

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1 Introduction

Due to the dynamic nature of this universe, each entity in the world continues to transform with the passage of time. This process of transformation has evolved the hunter-gatherer human groups into civil society, which culminated in the creation of the institution of the state. The whole process of creation of the institution of the state, if analyzed, aimed at the welfare of individuals. Initially, the basic element of individual welfare was considered the security of life and possession without which no human could work for prosperity in other fields of human life; therefore, security became the cornerstone of human thought processes. By creating the institution of the state, humans achieved the security of life and possession to some extent and then became able to devote their wisdom to progressing in other spheres of life. Since the basic purpose of the creation of the state was human welfare, with the passage of time, it became the liability of the institution of the state to take responsibility for human development. In this surge of human development, economic interests entered into affairs of the state whereby states were aiming at maximum possible economic advantages in their favor, which ultimately resulted in the horizontal expansion of economic activity around the world. The clash of economic interests gave birth to different ideologies like Capitalism and Communism, which determined the course of world politics throughout the twentieth century. Although, after the collapse of the USSR by the end of the twentieth century, US unilateralism with the Capitalist ideology became dominant in world politics, the inherent characteristics of Capitalism, as Marx had suggested, began to deteriorate the Capitalist world in its quest for maximization of profit, which consequently created an environment of economic competition among various economic powers.

This economic competition gave rise to states' eagerness to capture control over natural resources like oil and marketplace acquisition for the sale of manufactured products. A large part of oil supplies and international trade are transacted across international waters, which supplemented the competition for control overseas to ensure freedom of navigation. The search for control over land and seas made military strength a necessity for survival. These competitions brought human society to the verge of the same situation that occurred at the time of hunter-gatherer societies. It rejuvenated the human need for security from emerging threats and necessitated states to develop their military capacity.

In comparison to the ancient situation of hunter-gatherer societies, the contemporary issues of security have become very dangerous because of the sophisticated arms acquisitions by various states in the world. The most dangerous of these arms acquisition competitions occurred during the Cold War era marked by nuclear competition between the US and USSR. However, this competition established that nuclear-armed rivals cannot afford a full-fledged war. This lesson from the Cold War era transformed the concept of full-scale warfare into the limited wars and escalation control measures which consequently convinced states to maximize their ability to deter the enemy. Maintenance of deterrence again required arms acquisition and sophistication, which consequently brought in the idea of miniaturization of weapons and damage control. Apparently, states do not want to go to war in light of the Liberalist paradigm but, practically, they continuously keep themselves prepared for war as per Realist thoughts.

Concurrently, the international strategic environment is being overwhelmed by security-centric policies where states' security imperatives and economic interests supplement each other. None can flourish without the others. Economic security requires military strength while military strength requires economic prosperity to continue. This cycle of security-economic interdependence is driving the whole gamut of international politics. In this context, the India–US Strategic Partnership emerges as the exemplary annotation that connotes the above-cited cyclic process of international politics being practiced. The US hegemony in world politics, the potential rise of China with its rapidly increasing economic influence around the world, and India's eagerness to get the status of a "great power" in world politics are the major variables, which will determine the future course of world politics. Pakistan enters into the equation due to its strategic location, which is very significant for China for its Belt and Road Initiative. The US–China rivalry over trade balance and other regional issues is well known to the world while India has compromised its traditional foreign policy toward the US for the purpose of obtaining strategic interests, and the US has also shunned its strict nuclear non-proliferation policies in order to accommodate India. In this context, the India–US Strategic Partnership becomes a very interesting subject to be explored.

The India–US Strategic Partnership became a highly important and controversial subject of discussions among various academic and political circles in the world from the very first days of its inception. There have been intense debates on this partnership regarding its various aspects at various levels. At the international level, it provoked non-proliferation concerns, while at the regional level it triggered a debate about its implications for China and the emergence of India as an Asian power, a counterweight to China. There has been no significant account of its implications for Pakistan, which not only is an important regional actor in itself, attempting to maintain a strategic equilibrium with India, but also has close strategic cooperation with China, affecting the regional balance of power. More significantly, Pakistan perceives itself as the country most directly affected by the India–US Strategic Partnership. This partnership entailing a

nuclear deal and space cooperation raised huge concerns regarding non-proliferation at the international level.

Discussing its implications for non-proliferation, the Carnegie Endowment expert Mark Hibbs said, "The landmark U.S.-India nuclear deal damaged the global nonproliferation regime and has exacerbated nuclear tensions in South Asia" (Hibbs 2010). A report by the Council on Foreign Relations says that "the deal fundamentally reverses half a century of the US nonproliferation efforts, undermines attempts to prevent states like Iran and North Korea from acquiring nuclear weapons, and potentially contributes to a nuclear arms race in Asia" (Bajoria and Pan 2010). Sharon Squassoni writes in a Congressional Research Service report on India–US nuclear cooperation, "There are no measures in this global partnership to restrain India's nuclear weapons program" (Squassoni 2005). Henry Sokolski of the Non-proliferation Policy Education Center says, "We are going to be sending, or allowing others to send, fresh fuel to India—including yellowcake and lightly enriched uranium—that will free up Indian domestic sources of fuel to be solely dedicated to making many more bombs than they would otherwise have been able to make" (Bajoria and Pan 2010). Dhanapala termed the deal as "A disparity that vividly illustrates the inconsistent application of non-proliferation norms" (Dhanapala 2007). Zafar Nawaz Jaspal writes, "The global nuclear order, which has kept the nuclear proliferation regime intact, is based on the United States Atomic Energy Act of 1954; Non-Proliferation Treaty; the International Atomic Energy Agency, and the Nuclear Suppliers Group" (Jaspal 2008). This nuclear deal has caused a serious blow to the principle contours of non-proliferation regimes including the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) by introducing country-specific amendments in their fundamental principles.

There is also no profound guarantee about the non-diversion of nuclear technology toward military purposes by India. The claims about India's track record are also questionable on the ground that the NSG was created as a response to India's 1974 nuclear tests (Joshi 2010) when it had diverted "atoms for peace" to its nuclear weapon development. Heinrich describes it as "India's shock 1974 nuclear test explosion, using reactor technology provided by Canada in the 1950s supposedly for peaceful energy development" (Heinrich 2008). India can make qualitative and quantitative improvements in its nuclear arsenal through the transfer of nuclear technology. There is no assurance that India would not use transferred technology for military purposes through newly trained personnel equipped with advanced US nuclear technology. India has a proven history of betraying the trust and confidence of its benefactors by diverting technology provided for the peaceful use of nuclear energy for clandestine production of nuclear weapons. Given its track record, India may use the supply of nuclear technology and foreign fuel supplies, meant for the "civil nuclear program" to accelerate its weapons program. Moreover, India can refuse to comply with the so-called moratorium on nuclear testing on the basis of unconvincing excuses regarding security issues. This is evident in the words of

India's prime minister at the time, Manmohan Singh, mentioned in the *Washington Post*: "[T]he country would retain its right to carry out future nuclear tests despite a civilian nuclear deal with the United States" (India Said to Retain Right to Hold Tests 2006). According to the report, Singh said in Parliament, "There is no scope for capping of our strategic (nuclear) program. It will be decided by the people, government, and Parliament of the country and not by any outside power" (India Said to Retain Right to Hold Tests 2006). Describing the India–US nuclear deal in his article "Good day for India, Bad for Nonproliferation", Strobe Talbott writes:

> India and the United States have both shown a penchant for going it alone.… If the Indian and American versions of unilateralism reinforce one other, it will work to the detriment of institutions like the UN and risk turning treaties like the NPT from imperfect but useful mechanisms into increasingly ineffectual ones.
>
> (Talbott 2005)

At the regional level, major concerns about India–US strategic cooperation are thought to be China-centric but China followed a policy of ambiguity regarding its response to the India–US deal. China's response was given through a Chinese national daily that is considered the mouthpiece of the Chinese government. An editorial in the *Renmin Ribao* (or *People's Daily*) says:

> This would be a hard blow on America's leading role in the global proliferation prevention system as well as the system itself.… A domino effect of nuclear proliferation once turned into reality, will definitely lead to global nuclear proliferation and competition.
>
> (China Attacks Indo-US Nuclear Deal 2005)

According to a report by the World Security Network:

> China's foreign ministry said that the current international safeguards on nuclear weapons were the hard-won product of many countries' efforts and should not be weakened by exceptions … China hopes that concerned countries developing cooperation in peaceful nuclear uses will pay attention to these efforts.… The cooperation should conform to the rules of international non-proliferation mechanisms.
>
> (Srivastava 2006)

China was believed to halt the deal on the NSG forum but it did not obstruct the approval of the NSG due to its policy to improve relations with India and other economic and national interests. However, Pakistan expressed serious reservations about the India–US strategic cooperation agreements. Pakistan considers the strategic partnership as detrimental to the regional security architecture in

general and to Pakistan's security in particular. Discussing the implications of the India–US strategic pact on Pakistan, Agha Shahi wrote:

> It poses formidable challenges to Pakistan's policymakers in the diplomatic, political and security fields in maintaining the balance of power in the region.… The pact confirms that the US has decided to accord higher priority and greater importance to its fast-growing relations with India which it has come to accept as the dominant power in South Asia than to those with Pakistan … [The US pledge to help India become a major power] would enable the latter to project its power in its neighborhood and beyond with the apparent strategic aim of countering the growing weight of a rising China in Asia.… In pursuit of the goal of accelerating India's rise to a global power status as a counterweight to China, the US has disregarded the imperative of a strategic balance in South Asia.
>
> (Shahi 2005)

Highlighting the regional implications of the nuclear deal, Adil Sultan Muhammad writes:

> [T]he Indo-US civil nuclear cooperation agreement if implemented without checking India's potential to increase its fissile stocks and eliminating any possibility by India of improving its nuclear weapons could lead to arms competition in the region involving Pakistan, India, and China, thus destabilizing the entire region.
>
> (Muhammad 2006)

On March 20, 2006, Pakistan's Foreign Office spokesperson said: "We believe that this deal is not helpful to the stability in South Asia and to the international non-proliferation efforts" (Record of the Press Conference by the Foreign Office Spokesperson 2006). Commenting on the India–US nuclear deal, Pakistan's Foreign Office spokesperson said on July 23, 2007, "[W]e share the concerns of security analysts that the agreement would help bolster India's nuclear weapons capability" (Record of Press Briefing 2007). The National Command Authority (NCA), the apex body of the nuclear command and control system in Pakistan, noticed the nuclear and defense cooperation between India and the US, and showed its concerns by stating that the "US–India Civil Nuclear Energy Deal, which would enable India to produce significant quantities of fissile material and nuclear weapons from un-safeguarded nuclear reactors, may ignite an arms race and have implications on strategic stability in South Asia" (IPCS News Archives 2007). The NCA noted in its sixteenth meeting, held on January 13, 2010, that:

> India continues to pursue an ambitious militarization programme.… Massive inductions of advanced weapon systems, including installation of ABMs [anti-ballistic missiles], the build-up of nuclear arsenal and delivery

> systems through ongoing and new programmes, assisted by some external quarters … and similar accumulations in the conventional realm, tend to destabilize the regional balance … Pakistan cannot be oblivious to these developments.
>
> (ISPR 2010)

Expressing Pakistan's reservations about the discriminatory treatment policies of strategic export-control regimes, the NCA held in its meeting on December 14, 2010:

> Such policies, detrimental as they are to international peace and security, undermine the credibility of the existing non-proliferation regime and are inconsistent with the national laws and international obligations. Revisionism based on strategic, political or commercial considerations accentuates asymmetries and would perpetuate instability, especially in South Asia … peace and security are indivisible and … the goals of non-proliferation could only be advanced by ensuring equal and undiminished security for all states. Regional balance and strategic stability in South Asia are indispensable for peace, sustained development and prosperity for the region and beyond.
>
> (NCA Meeting 2010)

The NCA had noted in the earlier meeting in January 2010 that "the India-specific exemption made by the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and subsequent nuclear fuel supply agreements with several countries, would enable India to produce substantial quantities of fissile material for nuclear weapons by freeing up its domestic resources" (ISPR 2010). The NCA reiterated its criticism regarding discriminatory behavior with the international non-proliferation regime in its meeting on July 14, 2011, and cautioned that "such policies represent a regression in the non-proliferation regime and tend to erode the strategic balance in South Asia" (NCA Meeting 2011). Discussing the South Asian strategic environment in its meeting on September 5, 2013, the NCA declared that:

> Pakistan would not remain oblivious to the evolving security dynamics in South Asia and would maintain a full spectrum deterrence capability to deter all forms of aggression.… The NCA also reviewed the developments at the international level and took note of the discriminatory trends and policies.… It reiterated that Pakistan would continue to oppose any arrangement that is detrimental to its security and strategic interests.
>
> (NCA Meeting 2013)

Without naming India–US strategic cooperation, the NCA meeting on September 9, 2015, noted the increasing conventional military asymmetries and declared it would maintain the full-spectrum deterrence within the ambit of the

"credible minimum deterrence". It noted the regional strategic developments and reaffirmed that:

> [T]he State remains fully cognizant of the evolving security dynamics of South Asia and will take all measures to safeguard its national security.… In view of the growing conventional asymmetry, the NCA reiterated the national resolve to maintain "Full Spectrum Deterrence Capability" in line with the dictates of "Credible Minimum Deterrence" to deter all forms of aggression, adhering to the policy of avoiding an arms race.
>
> (*Express Tribune* 2015)

While highlighting the global discrimination with reference to participation in global non-proliferation regimes during its meeting on February 24, 2016, again without naming India–US strategic developments, the NCA claimed that "Pakistan has the requisite credentials that entitle it to become part of all multilateral export-control regimes, including the Nuclear Suppliers Group, for which Pakistan seeks adoption of a non-discriminatory approach" (NCA Meeting 2016). The twenty-third meeting of the apex body took place in December 2017, noting the alarming transformation in a regional security environment where "massive arms build-up in the conventional domain, the nuclearization of the Indian Ocean Region and plans for the development/deployment of BMD [ballistic missile defense]" were seen as detrimental to regional security (NCA Meeting 2017).

It is observable that none of the meetings of the top security policy authority of Pakistan remained oblivious of emerging security threats in the wake of India–US strategic cooperation and each meeting showed its concerns regarding strategic developments in the region and reiterated its commitment regarding maintenance of a credible minimum deterrence against any sort of aggression aimed at the national security of Pakistan.

Since its inception in 1947, Pakistan has been coping with grave security threats from India to ensure its existence and survival as an independent state. The newly born state of Pakistan was carved out through the division of British India into two independent states because of religious, social, cultural, and economic disharmony between the two major religious groups, i.e., Hindus and Muslims. The Muslims of India, being a minority, were suspicious about their existence as an independent nation in the wake of the dominant majority rule of Hindus after the departure of British colonial rule. Therefore, they demanded a separate homeland for the Muslims of India and succeeded in the creation of Pakistan as an independent Muslim state. Hindus, having a dominant majority, were against the division of British India and the creation of Pakistan, but they failed to stop it. However, they tried their best to create difficulties for the newly born state in its infancy by involving it in a lot of disputes. Since their independence, the countries have fought three full-scale wars, one limited war, and several low-intensity border skirmishes with each other. Pakistan, being a comparatively small state, has been faced with an enemy approximately three

times larger in every aspect, i.e., population, size, economy, and military, but it ensured its existence by maintaining a power equilibrium with India through different strategies.

After the end of World War II, the US emerged as the leader of the Capitalist world and the former USSR was leading the Communist ideology. Pakistan faced security threats from India and, having a weaker position, did choose to join the "United States Bloc" to fulfill its security needs while India became the leader of the so-called non-alignment movement. The analytical historiography of India–US relations manifests that the relationship between the two countries has been a tale of ups and downs for several reasons. The US did not give priority to India during the Cold War period in comparison with other big states in the region. Americans dealt with India as a state less relevant to its policies, and considered it as neither an ally nor an enemy. Moreover, Americans did not consider India as a possible actor that could play the role of balancer between the US and USSR. On the other end, India too did not accept the US role as a power balancer between Pakistan and India. In sum, Indian policies during the Cold War period annoyed the US because they were against US interests at that time. India's cordial relations with the USSR (the chief US rival), enmity with Pakistan (a US ally), and non-alignment movement (against the US's policy of making alliances against the USSR) were the major reasons which kept India and the US estranged from each other. Therefore, India–US relations could not develop in a positive way. One factor that kept the states apart was the creation of US Cold War priorities which did not match with the interests and policies of India. However, with the end of the Cold War, all the reasons for estrangement vanished and it took a very short time for both the countries to bring bilateral relations toward engagement.

The twenty-first century started with a phenomenal shift in US policy toward the relationship with India. The rapidly shifting priorities after the end of Cold War took only one decade to bring India and the US close to each other, leading to the development of high-level defense cooperation between the two states at an early stage, which transformed into the strategic partnership later. The remarkable development in the relationship between the two countries started with the US's President Bill Clinton's visit to India by the end of twentieth century, followed by the Bush administration, which during its first and second terms structured an agenda to develop the mutual relationship to achieve common goals. President Obama also followed suit and visited India in 2010. Under this strategic partnership, both countries pledged to mutually cooperate on several issues. Discussing the bilateral relationship between the two countries, George Perkovich wrote in 2010 that these issues include "Democracy and values; Economic development and poverty alleviation; Policies toward China and defense cooperation; Counterterrorism, Pakistan, and Afghanistan; Vital issues of global governance: Nuclear cooperation and nonproliferation, Trade, Climate change, UN Security Council" (Perkovich 2010). Both states took initiatives which led them to develop a strong strategic partnership, which is comprised of a broad range of areas for mutual cooperation including economic,

trade, space, nuclear technology, missile technology, and defense cooperation. Both countries have agreed to cooperate with each other and enhance their cooperation in each area of strategic significance, including economy (trade, investment, and agriculture), democracy, energy, environment, security (maritime security cooperation, counter-terrorism, military logistics support, defense trade, and non-proliferation), innovative and advanced technologies (intellectual property rights, science, and space), public health, and civilian nuclear cooperation (Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh 2006).

Keeping these developments in context, the agreed strategic partnership between India and the US is a significant concern to Pakistan because of the security environment in South Asia. The region has always been characterized by the traditional rivalry between Pakistan and India, the key states in the region. The security architecture of this region mostly remains dependent upon the nature of mutual relations between these two states. The rise of one of them as a regional power with hegemonic behavior is meant to be the destabilization of the region. In this context, India–US cooperation in high-tech defense equipment has raised concerns in Pakistan which may compel Pakistan to look for advanced weapon technology. Pakistan is already cautious about Indian predominance in conventional warfare capability, which will be further enhanced through defense cooperation between India and the US. Pakistan claims that making a special exception for India will have adverse effects on the security affairs of South Asia. Keeping in view the history of Pakistan's defense and foreign policies, Rasul Bakhsh Rais writes:

> [T]hey have always been India-centered from the beginning; for over half a century Pakistan's security dilemma has centered on how to balance, counter, and if necessary, fight the Indian threat; unconsciously borrowing from the Realist paradigm, the managers of Pakistan's security tried to address this dilemma by adopting two classic approaches: alliances with major world powers to augment defense capability, and (from the 1970s onward), nuclear deterrence to offset India's conventional superiority.
>
> (Rais 2005)

Currently, both of these approaches have become inefficient because of the development of a strategic relationship between India and the US. The US's commitment to supporting India in achieving great-power status and the unprecedented cooperation in nuclear technology has hampered the cornerstones of Pakistan's security. The cooperation is claimed to be for civil purposes only but history shows that nuclear technology achieved for civil purposes has been used mostly for military purposes. India has also developed its nuclear weapon capability through similar means. The pretext of "peaceful uses" of the atom, particularly for nuclear power plants, provided India the opportunity to use this technology for military purposes. "Atoms for peace" have been diverted to the making of bombs, a route that India took. It is therefore argued that India will

use this nuclear technology for military purposes in the future, which may erode strategic balance in the region. Security cooperation between New Delhi and Washington is seen as perilous in Islamabad for the reason that it could adversely affect Pakistan's deterrence capabilities against India and could tilt power equilibrium in India's favor. Further, this collaboration between India and the US could convince Pakistan to make arrangements for a similar agreement with China, and China should not hesitate on account of the US's motive to counter China through this collaboration with India in the region. It may not only be harmful to Pakistan but could also shatter strategic balance in Asia which would affect the whole gamut of international politics.

In the wake of India–US cordial relations through the comprehensive strategic partnership, the security structure in South Asia is changing over time. Therefore, this book tries to explore the relationship between the India–US Strategic Partnership and Pakistan's security. It further examines the potential of India–US cooperation to disturb the power equilibrium between Pakistan and India and the options available for Pakistan to curtail such an imbalance. It explores the outcomes of the developing India–US Strategic Partnership and its impact on Pakistan's security. After analyzing the strategic partnership, announced in 2006, and assessing possible developments, this study explores the emerging scenario regarding Pakistan's security. It is argued after exploring the nature of animosity between India and Pakistan and their current military capabilities, and analyzing the areas of cooperation under the India–US Strategic Partnership, that the partnership is bringing drastic changes in India's military capabilities and modernization of its forces. Along with enhancing its domestic nuclear stockpiles through the nuclear cooperation agreement, the cooperation in high-tech areas such as space and innovative technologies is enabling India to acquire sophisticated delivery systems. It is also argued that the increasing conventional military asymmetries between India and Pakistan, large nuclear stockpiles of fissile material in India, sophistication of missile delivery systems, and India's access to space are enabling India to destabilize the strategic balance in the region.

As a state that is approximately three times larger than Pakistan, India has been desperate to dominate Pakistan throughout the history of the bilateral relationship between the two countries but could not attain what was desired. The author suggested in his PhD research during 2012, "After the implementation of the United States–India strategic partnership and American support, the Indian government would become over-confident and may commit any adventurist policy against Pakistan" (Bukhari 2012). This assertion proved to be true in 2019 after the Pulwama Incident when the Indian Air Force (IAF) violated the line of control and launched a surgical strike inside Pakistani territory, which brought the two nations to the brink of a full-fledged war. Although Pakistan was able to maintain deterrence through reliance on its conventional warfare capability by responding through its fighter jets when the IAF again violated Pakistan's territory, this raised serious concerns regarding strategic stability and escalation control in the region. Such adventurist policies by India

will ultimately compel Pakistan to lower its nuclear threshold, which will be perilous for regional peace and stability. It is noteworthy that the US did not condemn the Indian attack on Pakistan, which can be considered as an implicit nod to India by the US administration. In this scenario, the lowered nuclear threshold and over-confident military adventurism combined together may produce catastrophic outcomes. The study also briefly explores the nuclear doctrines of India and Pakistan that provide an insight into the role of nuclear weapons in maintaining deterrence in the region. An epilogue is also included that suggests Pakistan's options for avoiding the negative outcomes of the India–US Strategic Partnership for Pakistan's security.

The review of literature on the subject suggests that India–US cooperation in multiple areas has attracted academics and think tanks to analyze its various dimensions. However, it has been observed that most of the available research on the India–US Strategic Partnership has been conducted by US and Indian authors. Therefore, most of the research is done regarding its implications for regional security, effects on non-proliferation, and implications for the US, China, and India. There are a few studies that discuss its implications for Pakistan. The literature survey suggests that the India–US Strategic Partnership aims at coping with possible future threats against India and the US that may emerge in global politics. Both states are convinced that together they can counter the newly emerging threats to their interests at the international and regional levels. Only a small number of short studies regarding implications for Pakistan suggest that this cooperation can undermine Pakistan's principle of minimum nuclear deterrence and may cause an arms race in the region.

A literature review of available studies related to the topic gives an insightful overview. The earlier studies on the India–US Strategic Partnership raised concerns regarding non-proliferation issues. Leonard Weiss (2005) examines the possible dangerous outcomes of the nuclear agreement between the two countries in his article "A High-Stakes Nuclear Gamble" and argues that the agreement has increased the possibility of terrorists acquiring nuclear weapons. Weiss discusses the violation of nuclear treaties by India in the past and India's refusal of the inspection of its nuclear facilities. Weiss also highlights the discriminatory behavior of the US in dealing with India in comparison with other states (Weiss 2005). P.R. Chari (2006b) discusses the emerging difficulties in the implementation of the India–US nuclear deal in his article, "Implementing the Indo-US Nuclear Deal: A Pyrrhic Struggle". Chari notes that convincing Congress and the NSG to approve the nuclear deal would be difficult tasks for the Bush administration. However, Chari accepts that it is an immediate need for nuclear material that motivated India to reach the nuclear agreement with the US (Chari 2006b).

Arundhati Ghose (2006) discusses the implications of the nuclear agreement between India and the US, i.e., if India is allowed to have civilian nuclear cooperation with the US. Ghose writes in her article "Prospects for Indo-US Cooperation in Civilian Nuclear Energy" that, despite opposition in both countries, India would have no problem with the implementation of safeguards if

the lifetime fuel supply to its civilian nuclear reactors is guaranteed (Ghose 2006). Ajey Lele (2006) discusses the implications for India of the nuclear agreement between India and the US with reference to Pakistan. Lele writes in his article "Pakistan's Quest for Nuclear Power" that the India–US agreement would encourage Pakistan to seek such nuclear cooperation from China. Lele gives the example of Pakistan–China nuclear cooperation in constructing nuclear reactors at Chasma as evidence of this, and suggests that Pakistan's activities around nuclear development must be closely monitored by the international community despite Pakistan's compliance with IAEA safeguards and command and control systems for its nuclear reactors (Lele 2006).

Pratap Bhanu Mehta (2006) discusses the impact of India–US nuclear cooperation on India with reference to India's role in global politics. Mehta writes in his article "Between the Two Stools" that "India and South Asia become a frontline area in the global tussle between the U.S. and China". Mehta suggests that India must give priority to its reputation before the world and the impact of its decisions on global politics in pursuing a nuclear pact with the US (Mehta 2006). Lora Saalman (2005a) makes an analysis of India's military capabilities and geostrategic relations with China and the US, and notes in her article "Redrawing India's Geostrategic Maps with China and the United States" that the growing India–US relationship is predominantly military in character, and the Sino-Indian relationship is driven by resource and economic priorities (Saalman 2005a).

Strobe Talbott (2004) wrote a book, *Engaging India: Diplomacy, Democracy, and The Bomb*, in autobiographic style with reference to the paradigm shift in India–US relations after the Indian nuclear tests in May 1998. Talbott discusses the resilience of Indian diplomatic efforts against the US's diplomatic overtures on restricting the development and deployment of India's nuclear arsenal, and highlights the US's negligence of India in the first half-century by taking a historical account of their relationship, describing the reasons for estrangement, where US Cold War priorities and friendship with Pakistan were the founding obstacles. Discussing the US's efforts around arms controls, disarmament, and non-proliferation in South Asia, Talbott's analysis revolves around a Pakistan-centric threat perception of India. It also shows how Indian pressure affected the US–Pakistan relationship in terms of defense cooperation. In short, the book provides an insight into President Clinton's predominantly pro-India policies and exemplifies the US's tilt toward India at Pakistan's cost (Talbott 2004).

US–Indian Strategic Cooperation into the 21st Century: More than Words is a collection of articles edited by Sumit Ganguly, Brian Shoup, and Andrew Scobell. The book comprises the writings of eminent persons discussing various dimensions of the India–US Strategic Partnership. It entails analysis of the recent India–US relationship with reference to alliance theory, defense relations, military-to-military cooperation, counter-terrorism, and joint peace operations. Devin T. Hagerty's (2006) analysis in the context of alliance theory claims that the strategic partnership is just an "entente" rather than a conventional alliance and it cannot transform into a conventional alliance in the absence of common

threats like Pakistan and China (Hagerty 2006). Arthur Robinoff (2006) finds out the reasons for the US's neglect of India in the post-1947 period. Taking a historical account of India–US relations, Robinoff considers the lack of Indian metics in the US, negative images and perception of India in the US, World War II differences, Cold War priorities, containment of the Soviet Union, US cooperation with Pakistan, China, and nuclear non-proliferation as the major reasons for estrangement (Robinoff 2006).

Discussing the India–US relationship, India's retired Major General Dipankar Banerjee (2006) argues that the Indian policy of non-alignment was one reasons for the states' alienation. Banerjee also takes a historical analysis of India–US relations and finds that it is a real rollercoaster relationship that needs to be strengthened further in the wake of emerging geostrategic challenges. Along with many other issues, Banerjee's discussion revolved mostly around the Pakistan factor in the India–US relationship (Banerjee 2006). A chapter by V.P. Malik (2006) in *US–Indian Strategic Cooperation into the 21st Century* provides a comprehensive account of India–US defense relations in the post–Cold War era and explores the future prospects of the security relationship between the two countries. In the same book, John H. Gill emphasizes the importance of the military-to-military interaction between the two countries in strengthening the bilateral relationship, while Bahukutumbi Raman examines the India–US cooperation in counter-terrorism from past to present and accuses the US of favoring Pakistan over India in counter-terrorism cooperation. In short, the book is a compendium of articles, most of them by Indian authors, for the campaign against Pakistan. It seems to be an objective-oriented book centered on finding out ways and means of using the US against Pakistan. The book is a reflection of a Pakistan-centric threat perception of India, which aims at achieving India's strategic interests through India–US strategic cooperation (Ganguly et al. 2007).

South Asian Security and International Nuclear Order: Creating a Robust Indo-Pakistani Nuclear Arms Control Regime by Mario Esteban Carranza (2009) is a comprehensive treatise advocating the nuclear non-proliferation concerns in South Asia. Carranza severely criticizes Indian duplicity regarding non-proliferation policies and emphasizes the importance of the US role in South Asian security affairs, arguing that the US must adopt firm policies regarding non-proliferation in dealing with South Asian countries. While taking a brief account of international nuclear order and Indian policies, Carranza examines the transformation in India's nuclear policies from the past to the present and highlights the about-face of Indian nuclear diplomacy. He writes:

> The about-face in India's nuclear diplomacy became dramatically apparent in July 2005, when in announcing the beginning of the negotiations for the United States–India nuclear deal; a long-standing critic of a US-sponsored unjust international nuclear order (epitomized by the NPT) was now seeking to join an even more unjust post-NPT nuclear order while seeking a de facto admission to the nuclear club.
>
> (Carranza 2009)

Carranza rejects conventional wisdom about the acceptance of India and Pakistan as nuclear weapon states and fears a nuclear catastrophe in the region if the US fails to intervene in any crisis between the two countries. Carranza also highlights the dangers of nuclear terrorism because of domestic instability and the Islamic insurgency in Pakistan, and discusses the Pakistan–India nuclear relationship from the past to the present along with the US's non-proliferation policies toward the region. Highlighting the US prominence in the international nuclear order, Carranza insists on the need for re-establishing US non-proliferation policies to eliminate the nuclear weapons from the region (Carranza 2009).

Teresita C. Schaffer's (2009a) book, *India and the United States in the 21st Century: Reinventing Partnership*, examines the strategic partnership between India and the US and finds out the areas of mutual interest where the states can cooperate in a more cohesive manner. Schaffer highlights the importance of India's role in future global issues like international financial reforms, nuclear non-proliferation, and climate change. She explores the forging of US ties with India for global and multilateral objectives while India is looking for bilateral ties in a manner that does not compromise its strategic autonomy. Schaffer claims that although China is also a source of threat for Indian security, Pakistan has remained the most galvanizing foreign-policy problem for India since the half-century of independence (Schaffer 2009). Taking a brief account of history, Schaffer discusses the transformation of Indian foreign policy and argues that driving factors of India's new foreign policy are achieving great-power status, a vital partnership with US, an improved relationship with China, economic priorities, a "Look East" policy, disputes with Pakistan, and a permanent seat at the United Nations' Security Council. On the other hand, Schaffer also examines the transformation in US foreign policy in the post–Cold War era and explores the importance of India in US global strategy as well as economic interests (Schaffer 2009a).

Gauging US–Indian Strategic Cooperation is an edited book by Henry Sokolski (2007), published under the auspices of the US government, which covers the legitimacy of the nuclear deal in line with the atomic energy needs of India. The authors believe that the negative outcomes of the nuclear deal outweigh the expected benefits in the future. They also hold a discussion on the development of the Indian nuclear program with an analysis of India's nuclear fuel capacity and the future impact of the nuclear deal on nuclear power generation in India. Examining the vulnerabilities of the Indian nuclear program, the book entails discussion about the possible military and terrorist attacks on India's nuclear installations, and argue that such attacks are likely to result in a war between India and Pakistan that may escalate into a nuclear exchange. The book also has a detailed analysis of India's missile development program in the context of space cooperation between India and the US (Sokolski 2007).

Engaging India: US Strategic Relations with the World's Largest Democracy is a joint venture by Garry K. Bertsch, Seema Gahlaut, and Anupam Srivastava (1999), which aims at changing the US's perception of India soon after the

1998 nuclear tests by India and Pakistan. The book is a great contribution by Indian authors in clarifying the act of nuclear explosions by India as justified in light of its strategic imperatives. Taking a brief account of India–US relations in the past, the authors emphasize that the US must not ignore India anymore. The book also explores the areas of mutual cooperation between the two countries which may lead to strategic cooperation against the rising threat of China. It is a masterpiece in changing the US's perception of India, convincing the US to accept nuclear India as a de facto nuclear weapon state, and finding out the areas of mutual interest and cooperation between the two countries (Bertsch et al. 1999)

Power Realignments in Asia: China, India, and the United States, edited by Alyssa Ayres and C. Raja Mohan (2009), is a treatise that provides an analysis of emerging power politics in Asia where the rapidly growing economy along with military modernization in China raises concerns for both the US and India. The book consists of 14 articles by eminent authors, providing a discussion on China's growing economic architecture, energy security, military modernization, environmental concerns, and increasing regional influence that is linked to the strategic as well as economic imperatives of India and the US. It provides an understanding of the intermingled economic interests, with suspicion and a lack of trust regarding strategic interests among China, India, and the US. The book reflects that most of the Indian concerns are based on regional strategic interests where the feelings of "encirclement by China" are dominant in Indian strategic thinking (Ayres and Mohan 2009).

The Genesis of South Asian Nuclear Deterrence: Pakistan's Perspective by Naeem Salik (2009) is a comprehensive description of Pakistan's viewpoint about the need for nuclear deterrence in South Asia against the negative propaganda campaign about Pakistan's nuclear program. The author begins with a very comprehensive historical introduction of the South Asian region and sketches out India and Pakistan as the key regional players due to their traditional rivalry and nuclearization. A brief but almost complete description of the geostrategic and security environment of the region lays down the ground for the scholarly importance of the topic discussed. Salik presents a profound analysis of India–Pakistan rivalry in the wake of the scars of partition and argues that Pakistan's nuclear program is totally India-centric. Furthermore, rejecting the Indian claim of the Chinese threat, the writer says that most of the Indian military deployments are toward Pakistan; therefore, India also seeks Pakistan as its prime enemy. Discussing the evolution of the Indian nuclear program, the writer comprehensively deals with the realities on the ground regarding US support to India throughout the evolution of its nuclear program, on the basis of primary sources like declassified US official documents. The whole evolution shows that the US always dealt with the Indian nuclear program in a very friendly manner and did not take any serious action against India despite knowing that it could develop a nuclear weapon at a later stage.

The author also highlights the important fact that Indian officials have always misled the whole world regarding its ambitions to develop a nuclear weapon

and misused the nuclear technology given for civil purposes, diverting it toward military objectives. The book presents a very comprehensive account of Pakistan's nuclear weapon development program driven mostly by its security objectives. It argues with solid technical pieces of evidence that Pakistan's nuclear weapon development program was not like the Indian diversion of nuclear technology from civil uses to military purposes, but was entirely based on a firm determination of both political leadership and technological efforts of national scientists.

The study gives a detailed account of the US's efforts to halt Pakistan's nuclear program through different tactics and its failure to achieve its goal due to very good diplomatic manipulation by Pakistani leadership. It acknowledges that Pakistan's nuclear program was mostly India-centric and argues that it was fair for Pakistan to have a nuclear deterrence against even a non-nuclear hostile neighbor due to the increasing conventional warfare disparities. The book also provides a comparative analysis of both countries' nuclear weapon manufacturing capacities. Salik opines that the India–US nuclear deal not only has serious implications for non-proliferation but will also have grave consequences for strategic stability in South Asia. He argues that the assured fuel supply for civilian nuclear reactors from the NSG would free up the whole domestic fissile material for military programs in India, predicting that "this could trigger a nuclear arms race, thereby jeopardizing the very concept of deterrence and seriously disturbing strategic stability" (Salik 2009).

The author also touches on nuclear proliferation issues in South Asia and highlights the very significant efforts made by Pakistan to curtail nuclear proliferation in the region. The writer argues that every effort made by Pakistan was jeopardized by Indian hegemonic designs which enforced Pakistan to pursue the nuclear path. While discussing Pakistan's proposals and efforts to make South Asia a nuclear-weapon-free zone, it is argued that India never agreed with such proposals and the international community, too, did not give it due response; therefore, Pakistan could not pursue unilateral non-proliferation in the presence of a hostile neighbor. All the nuclear non-proliferation regimes' efforts, including NPT, the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, and the Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty, were a failure in the region due to Indian abhorrence. Pakistan's compliance with these regimes was totally dependent on Indian policy due to its India-centric security policy.

The nuclear weapon delivery system is an integral part of nuclear deterrence; therefore, the writer also analyzes the nuclear delivery systems of both countries regarding their capability, efficacy and credibility, as well as the most significant myths about their indigenous creation, along with foreign assistance available to both the countries. Regarding Pakistan's nuclear delivery system, the writer argues that when Pakistan started its missile program, it had to face multiple sanctions imposed by the US-backed Missile Technology Control Regime, because Pakistan had embarked on its missile program after the emergence of the said regime. In contrast, India had already taken all the advantages from technologically advanced countries in the name of civilian space technology

before unfolding its missile development plan in 1983, and thus avoided the strictures imposed by the US-led regime on missile technology control. The author also argues that India exploited civil space technology for missile development purposes like it did in the development of its nuclear weapon program.

The study claims that Pakistan initiated the proposal for a "Zero Missile Regime for South Asia", which was not welcomed by India or the international community. Therefore, Pakistan, too, had to follow suit in order to maintain its minimum credible deterrence. Moreover, Pakistan does not have any intention to be involved in a missile race with India but its missile development research is focused on survivable minimum credible deterrence. The book also gives information about Pakistan's nuclear command and control system and rejects the international concerns regarding nuclear security. In sum, the book highlights the possibility of nuclear escalation in the event of any conflict between the two states. The author believes that the India–US nuclear deal has heightened this danger and insists that nuclear weapons have become part and parcel of South Asian deterrence, and the dangers of nuclear exchange remain without complete elimination of nuclear weapons from the region (Salik 2009).

Indian Nuclear Deterrence: Its Evolution, Development, and Implications for South Asian Security is a comprehensive work by Zafar Iqbal Cheema (2010) on the real foundation and objectives of the Indian nuclear weapon program. Cheema contends the Indian claims about the peaceful initiation of its nuclear program and writes, "There has been a coherent and continuous strategic rationale behind the evolution and development of the Indian nuclear weapon capability since its inception in Nehru era" (Cheema 2010). Attributing the nuclear weapon as the "currency of strategic power" in Indian strategic thinking, Cheema has rejected the Indian policy of "no first use" (NFU) with reference to Article VI of the operationalized nuclear doctrine that added conditions to the declared NFU. Assessing the efficacy of Indian nuclear doctrine, the author indicates its contradictory aspects and insists that nuclear weapons seem to be instruments of war rather than deterrence in India's nuclear policy. The writer assesses that since Pakistan has no declared nuclear doctrine, the stance of a "minimum nuclear deterrence" as Pakistan's nuclear policy is appropriate given the available resources and circumstances. However, indicating the introduction of sophisticated technologies like BMD in the region and the increasing conventional asymmetry, the writer highlights the dangers of nuclear escalation by stating, "The conventional asymmetry and nuclear threshold of Pakistan are inversely proportional: the higher the asymmetry, the lower the threshold, the lower the asymmetry, the higher the threshold" (Cheema 2010).

Discussing the possible outcomes of India–US cooperation under the strategic partnership, the author indicates three major areas of cooperation with reference to their impact on nuclear deterrence in South Asia, i.e., joint weapon production with the transfer of technology, BMD systems, and the nuclear deal. The author believes that such cooperation would destabilize the strategic balance in the region and therefore would augment the arms race between India and

Pakistan. Discussing the absence of potential official responses to the India–US nuclear deal by Pakistan, the author condemns the withdrawal of a letter to the IAEA, written by Shahbaz Hussain, Pakistan's ambassador to the IAEA, and Pakistan's lack of opposition to the NSG's boards of governors due to US pressure. The author considers that letter as an appropriate response to the nuclear deal if it had not been withdrawn. Criticizing the withdrawal, Cheema writes, "Such an abject surrender vis-à-vis India on the crucial issue of national security is not only unique but deleterious and disgraceful for the Pakistani nation" (Cheema 2010).

The Indo-US Strategic Relationship and Pakistan's Security by Zafar Nawaz Jaspal (2007) discusses Pakistan's security puzzle in the wake of increasing strategic cooperation between India and the US. Jaspal views the India–US strategic relationship as a part of the larger strategic objectives of Washington through alliance politics. Discussing the US primacy in the international structure, Jaspal outlines the reasons for India–US convergence. The writer argues, "The United States has an interest in balancing any future Chinese expansion in Asia, and the United States–India strategic partnership could play an important role" (Jaspal 2007), while India wants to achieve great-power status in the region through US help. Giving a brief preview of India–US strategic cooperation, Jaspal highlights the major areas of cooperation that are pertinent to Pakistan's security. Discussing Pakistan's security puzzle, Jaspal considers India's military development through high-tech defense cooperation, under the strategic partnership, as perilous to Pakistan's security in terms of the balance of power with India. He is of the view that it would not only compel Pakistan to endeavor toward an arms race with India but would also be detrimental to socio-economic development along with increased dependence on arms-supplier nations (Jaspal 2007).

Indo-US 123 Agreement: Impacts on Deterrence Stability in South Asia, a joint publication by Nasrullah Mirza and Muhammad Sadiq (2008), provides an analytical assessment of the India–US nuclear deal with reference to India's nuclear weapon development capabilities and their impact on Pakistan's security. The authors believe that the deal will enhance the quality and quantity of India's nuclear weapon capabilities in a way that cannot be de-hyphenated from Pakistan's security concerns, and reject India's claims for having a credible minimum deterrence policy in the wake of qualitative and quantitative improvements in India's nuclear arsenal. They recommend a policy of sufficient credible deterrence or satisfactory credible deterrence to cope with emerging security threats from India. Discussing the possibility of pre-emptive strikes against Pakistan by India, the authors write:

> The Indian desire of building BMDs coupled with the already existing conventional asymmetries and greater strategic depth can give India a false sense of security that could lead to encouragement of provocation by the Indian decision-makers to take a preemptive strike against the Pakistani strategic assets.
>
> (Mirza and Sadiq 2008)

The authors also indicate that the India–US nuclear deal will create a triangular arms-race syndrome in the region involving China, India, and Pakistan, each pursuing its own strategic objectives.

In sum, the literature survey suggests that a large number of studies related to the India–US Strategic Partnership have concentrated on exploring ways and means of strengthening and enhancing the India–US strategic relationship. The realities on the ground in Pakistan have been ignored and none of the studies have tried to address comprehensively the implications of the strategic partnership for Pakistan. Therefore, this highlights the imperative for a comprehensive inquiry of the subject with reference to Pakistan's security concerns.

This study also provides a theoretical framework for the analysis of the India–US Strategic Partnership with relevance to its implications for Pakistan's security. Keeping in view Pakistan's rivalry with India, quite a few theories could be employed to assess the relationship between the said strategic partnership and Pakistan's security concerns, but analysis of the partnership itself manifests that it represents the future power dynamics in world politics by adopting the alliance pattern. Moreover, Pakistan–India security relationships have also been centered on maintaining the strategic balance vis-à-vis each other. Since the concept of alliance behavior and strategic balance are an integral part of the Balance of Power theory, it seems appropriate to analyze the study through the lens of Balance of Power. To understand the power dynamics caused by the strategic partnership, and their impact on strategic stability in South Asia, the Power Transition theory has been chosen additionally. The Balance of Power and the Power Transition theories are considered contrary to each other but the study found both the theories mutually supportive in its analysis of the India–US Strategic Partnership regarding its implications for Pakistan's security, as both theories reach the same conclusion. Drawing the same results from these two theories bolsters the validity of the hypothesis.

Keeping in view the nature of study, the analysis of the India–US Strategic Partnership is based on some research questions and hypothesis. The question around which the whole study is organized asks *to what extent is the India–US Strategic Partnership an arbiter of the balance of power between India and Pakistan?* The question is an important one, given that strategic planning within the defense establishment of Pakistan is demonstrably skewed in favor of using the nuclear option for terminating any armed hostility by India. By implication, the basic findings of this study may be applied to the full range of Pakistan's relations with India as well as with the US and the rest of the world for fulfilling its defense requirements. In order to proceed with addressing the main focus of the study, there is a need to first answer a number of second-order questions that are fundamental in nature. A cursory list of such questions includes:

- What are the defining features of Pakistan's security?
- How has Pakistan maintained its security?
- What does the history of Pakistan–India relations suggest about the Indian strategic approach when India emerges as a major power?

- What are the presumed characteristics of India–US relations and how are they dissimilar/similar to previous eras?
- What is the role of the India–US Strategic Partnership in Pakistan's security and how does this partnership affect Pakistan's security?
- Through what means can the India–US collaboration affect Pakistan?
- What are the requirements of the future security strategy of Pakistan and how must they be fulfilled?

In addressing the organizing questions, this study proposes the following:

> India–US collaboration through strategic partnership is believed to have inverse effects on the India–Pakistan balance of power that will favor India; the transition in power, entailing imbalance, can be perilous for Pakistan's security and may force Pakistan to adopt alternative policies/strategies to forestall the negative impact.

This proposition is predicated on the author's view about India's pursuit of great-power status, which is perceived as hegemonic design, being seen as the fundamental threat to Pakistan's security. In other words, if India emerges as an international great power, it will force Pakistan to be subordinate to Indian policies. This perspective harkens back to the words of Arthur Lee Burns: "The closer the alliance between any two or more powers, the greater the increase of opposition or "pressure" (other things being equal) between any one of the two and any third Power or group of Powers" (Burns 1957). Burns' theoretical analysis of the international system focuses initially on the classic balance-of-power system of the nineteenth century. There is an international balance-of-power system in which if a change occurs in the relationship between two states, the third is affected. Burns illustrates the hypothesis with an economic analogy. Three firms are in competition with one another, Red, Yellow, and Blue, and each produces the same product. Blue and Yellow agree on a price-fixing policy. Red, therefore, suffers (Healy and Stein 1973).

It is in this context that mutual alliance between the two powers, India and the US, places the third state, Pakistan, in a less-secure position. If two nations (India and the US) expand their cooperation in strategic partnership areas vis-à-vis each other, the newly acquired advanced technology, surplus nuclear fuel and resources, and, above all, increased Indian influence on the US is now available for use against the third state (Pakistan). The implication is that the cooperation created by the India–US alliance would offset the India–Pakistan power equilibrium. It is being observed that as the India–US Strategic Partnership is blooming, it is affecting the power equilibrium between Pakistan and India. It is contributing to tilting the power equilibrium in favor of India in terms of nuclear capability, and is also affecting Pakistan's interests in terms of political, economic, and external relations.

Although India–US relations is a vast subject, this study is limited to the analysis of the India–US Strategic Partnership that was announced during President

Bush's visit to India in 2006 and its implications for Pakistan. It provides an analysis of what both India and the US have achieved in concluding said strategic partnership and notes that it could have negative outcomes in the future. It explores the history of India–US relations during and after the Cold War and identifies the reasons for the phenomenal shift in US policies toward India at the dawn of the twenty-first century. By providing a comprehensive account of Pakistan–India relations and the military capabilities of each, the study provides an insight into the nature of the enmity between the two countries. However, it emphasizes only the security-related issues in the analysis of the relationship. It also provides a comprehensive analysis of how the developing India–US Strategic Partnership could affect Pakistan's security in multiple ways. However, this study omits discussion on the non-traditional security issues in the India–US relationship because such issues do not have profound effects on Pakistan's security issues with India. Moreover, these issues are included in the said strategic partnership only to substantiate their impact while the agreement for nuclear cooperation is the central tenet. The study also excludes discussion on India's energy needs and economic dimensions because these are not coverable subjects here. A detailed analysis is not conducted of the US's policy of containing China through India, the "global war on terror", and non-proliferation for the reason that enough information on these issues is available and there is potential for separate detailed studies. Therefore, these omissions are deliberate to preserve the scope of the present study. The study also does not contain a detailed discussion of Pakistan–US relations because this, too, is large enough for another study; it is addressed only to the extent that it supports the scope of this research.

In essence, the study seeks to fill a void in contemporary strategic and security studies literature by investigating the implications of the strategic partnership between India and the US on Pakistan's security. The author proceeds to discuss the concept of "balance of power", further modifications in the balance of power concept, patterns of balance of power, devices/methods of balance of power, comparative analysis of Power Transition theory versus Balance of Power in the India–Pakistan context, and introduces the concept of "virtual balancing". The author argues that the concept of balance of power has never been obsolete; it has always been there from the international level to the regional level, sometimes clearly manifested and sometimes behind a curtain. The confluent relationship between India–US cooperation and Pakistan's security is then considered in this light. To illustrate this relationship, the India–US Strategic Partnership announced in 2006 has been chosen to serve as the centerpiece of this inquiry. The author's aim in undertaking this study is to contribute to the ongoing discourse on the India–US Strategic Partnership by examining critically the US's approach to promoting India as a great power in the region. The central tenet of the study will be the analysis of India–US convergence of interests and the effects of this partnership on Pakistan's security. Hence, the present study seeks broadly: (1) to derive knowledge on and analyze the India–US Strategic Partnership and how that relationship finds expression in Pakistan's security strategy; (2) obtain from resulting analyses an understanding of the India–US

collaboration and Pakistan's security; and (3) apply that knowledge to search for strategic policy options for Pakistan.

In terms of research methodology, the study has been carried out by employing both descriptive and analytical methods of qualitative research. Both primary and secondary sources have been used to give a comprehensive account of the subject. The official documents, interviews, research articles, research reports, statements by eminent persons, news of both electronic and print media, and contending views about the subject have been utilized to understand the whole paradigm. In addition to this, various books, journals, and scholarly articles were consulted to understand the dynamics of the subject with special reference to India–US relations and their implications for Pakistan's security. The primary sources include joint statements of US presidents with Indian prime ministers, US Congressional proceedings, Indian Parliamentary debates, annual defense reports, national security policies, US declassified national security archives, draft agreements and treaties, nuclear doctrines, and relevant documents from official records of Pakistan's foreign office. Interviews with various experts, academics, and government officials were useful in understanding the dynamics of the Pakistan–India–US relationship with reference to Pakistan's security imperatives. Additional information was acquired from secondary sources where primary sources were not available. For instance, information has been obtained from credible sources like SIPRI yearbooks (from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute), the Federation of American Scientists, and *Military Balance* by the International Institute for Strategic Studies, which were pertinent to the Indian and Pakistani strategic forces. Since the research questions about the topic under discussion are qualitative rather than quantifiable, results and recommendations should not be expected to provide mathematical answers. The findings have been obtained through a combination of critical analysis and comparative evaluation of available data. The criteria to find the answers to the research questions are the critical analysis of the potential areas of cooperation between India and the US under the strategic partnership and their evaluation in comparison with Pakistan's strategic capabilities.

The study has been divided into ten chapters to develop a framework that provides a better understanding of various relevant dimensions of the subject under investigation. Chapter 1 presents an introduction to the study which provides the background of the research topic with an explanation about the necessity to evaluate the India–US Strategic Partnership with reference to Pakistan's security. The chapter entails information about the employed theories, research questions, hypothesis, scope and limitations, delimitations, and a synopsis of the study that provides an overview of the research. Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework for the study. This consists of two theories, i.e., Balance of Power and Power Transition. This chapter provides a detailed discussion of both theories for conceptual understanding and explains their relevance to the study. Chapter 3 examines the history of India–US relations and analyses the political framework of both India's and the US's policies during and after the Cold War. It discovers that the relationship between the two states has

never been as cordial as in recent years. Although both countries have cooperated with each other in the past, the relationship has always been soured by suspicion and mistrust.

Chapter 4 evaluates the declared "strategic partnership 2006" with a special focus on the nuclear cooperation agreement between India and the US. It examines the underlying objectives of both countries for reaching a nuclear cooperation agreement. Since the nuclear cooperation agreement is the crown jewel of the strategic partnership, the chapter provides a critical analysis of this agreement and explores different loopholes in it. Chapter 5 discusses the impact of India–US nuclear cooperation on nuclear non-proliferation. It entails an analysis of the nuclear deal with reference to the NPT, IAEA, and NSG, while highlighting various accommodations given to India at the cost of non-proliferation concerns. Chapter 6 provides an insight into the India–US defense cooperation arrangements under the strategic partnership frame. It gives information about various bilateral defense cooperation agreements that provide a comprehensive framework for military cooperation between India and the US.

Chapter 7 outlines the taxonomy of India–Pakistan rivalry through the historical description of major crises, wars, and disputes between the two countries. This chapter also provides a discussion on the role of nuclear deterrence in maintaining strategic stability in South Asia. A brief analysis of confidence-building measures is also given at the end of the chapter. In sum, the chapter provides an insight into the nature of the India–Pakistan relationship that helps to understand the enduring rivalry between the two states. Chapter 8 offers an assessment of Pakistan's security calculus and strategic balance with India. It provides a comparative analysis of Pakistan–India armed forces, missile technology, nuclear forces, and nuclear posture. It explores that the increasing asymmetries in conventional military capabilities between the two countries may compel Pakistan to adopt every possible measure against the security threats from India, which may ultimately be catastrophic for the region. Chapter 9 presents the findings of the study by addressing the major security concerns for Pakistan in the wake of enhancing the strategic partnership between India and the US. It describes Pakistan's perspective on how the India–US Strategic Partnership can affect Pakistan in particular. Chapter 10 provides an overall conclusion of the study entailing recommendations for Pakistan in the wake of emerging threats to its security.

2 The conceptual framework

Discussing the importance of power politics in the conduct of international affairs, James Ferguson writes, "Several world-views underlie the main strands of thought in politics and international relations … 'how power is defined, used and assessed?' is one fundamental theme in the analysis of states, nations, diplomacy, and war" (Ferguson 2004). Such a depiction of the importance of the struggle for power among nations provides the very basic framework for understanding the dynamics of international politics. Power is an extremely complex phenomenon and is made all the more so by the human desire to seek the security of life and possession. Throughout history, security imperatives have affected the power distribution on earth and brought day-to-day sophistication in methods of searching for power. Therefore, states always look for opportunities to gain superiority over their rivals. There are multiple reasons for such behavior according to the Realist paradigm, i.e., an international anarchic system, uncertainty about other states' intentions, and survival as a primary objective; these factors encourage states' intentions to develop power and influence over others. Therefore, it is the system that encourages states to look for opportunities to maximize their power vis-à-vis other states (Mearsheimer 2001, 29–31). In this context, the India–US Strategic Partnership can also be seen as an expression of such power politics.

As far as the study is concerned, this partnership and its impacts on Pakistan's security must be tested on some theoretical framework. Keeping in view the historical context of Pakistan–India relations, two theories have been selected to examine the relevance to the study, i.e., Balance of Power and Power Transition. This study claims that the India–US partnership has far-reaching implications for Pakistan's security because the emergence of India as a counterweight to China will not only tilt the balance of power between China and the US in favor of the US but it will also tilt power equilibrium in favor of India over Pakistan in the South Asian region. Moreover, the India–US Strategic Partnership may bring "transition" in the existing power structure of South Asia that will destabilize the prevailing strategic equilibrium, and may provide an opportunity for war to occur between India and Pakistan. Therefore, a correlation does exist between the India–US Strategic Partnership and Pakistan's security.

To examine the relationship between the variables, the Balance of Power and Power Transition theories provide a solid. Since the conceptual framework of both the theories is provided by the major accounts of the Realist school of thought, a few of these accounts enriched by E.H. Carr, Hans J. Morgenthau, and Kenneth Waltz have been referred to here. The dominant perspectives in the Realist school of thought consider the balance of power as the best policy to achieve security. Emphasizing the importance of the Balance of Power theory, Kenneth N. Waltz (1979) writes in his book *Theory of International Politics*, "If there is any distinctive political theory of international politics, the balance of power theory is it" (Waltz 1979). In current international politics, where the US is acting as the sole superpower, the concept of a balance of power is generally believed to be obsolete, but it still exists underneath the prevailing inter-state system where politics is believed to be a "struggle for power" and "interest defined as power" (Morgenthau 1978, 4, 15). Balance of power finds its roots in Realism, which commonly believes that the motivating force of every state is to enhance its military, economic, and security power rather than ideals or ethics. The Realist ideology re-emerged as an important paradigm in international relations after World War II. Since ancient times, scholars have contributed to the Realist tradition. A few early writers, such as Sun Tzu in his famous book *Art of War*, Thucydides in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*, and Niccolo Machiavelli in his *The Prince*, promoted the achievement and use of power without any consideration given to ethics or religion as expedient for a successful ruler. Thomas Hobbes in *Leviathan* underscored the idea of a "war of all against all" while Otto von Bismarck introduced the term "balance of power" (Doyle 1997, 41, 204).

Political Realism emphasizes that "one must look at actual "real" situation in the world, including negative aspects" (Ferguson 2004). It believes in the importance of power and its significant role in politics; the key component is to check out the behavior and outcomes, not ideals, in international relations. It is the most influential school of thought in understanding international relations. Linklater highlights the importance of Realism by stating that "no other theory has given so much form and structure to the study of international politics" (Linklater 1996, 67). According to Steven E. Lobell and others:

> Realism is primarily concerned with the sources and uses of national power in international politics and the problems that leaders encounter in conducting foreign policy.… These issues lead scholars to focus on power distributions among states, as well as the character of states and their relation to domestic society.
>
> (Lobell 2009, 16–17)

Emphasizing the importance of Realism, E.H. Carr argues, "[O]ne must always look at the world the way it is, not the way one would like it to be" (Carr 1939,

283). Discussing Carr's theory of peaceful change, in a chapter titled "Realism Tragedy and Post Modernity", Mark D. Gismondi explains:

> [C]hange involves a carefully constructed compromise between power and morality; without power, political reality dictates that the weaker must yield; yielding to threats of force is a normal part of the process of peaceful change.… Given this situation, parties must accept the realities of power and alter their policy accordingly.
>
> (Gismondi 2008, 139–140)

Being a Realist, Carr emphasized the importance of the balance of power. He said, "Maintaining a balance of power, far from being a cause of war as international liberalism had argued, was actually the best mechanism available to nation-states to prevent war" (Carr 1939, 283). The philosophical foundations of Realism can also be found in Hobbes' *State of Nature*, which concludes that conflict is an integral part of human nature as well as human institutions. Realists also believe that "the international system is anarchical, in which sovereign states are the principal actors" (Ferguson 2004). They focus on the states as rational actors, acting in their national interest with the primary aim of national integration, resisting sub-national, transnational, ideological, or cultural groupings. The ultimate objective of each state is to ensure security, which is best guaranteed by power, principally military in character. Realism exemplifies a state-centric international system that introduces selfishness and competition where the state as the key actor has complete authority in regulating international relations. Therefore, states must conduct international relations on their own terms.

Realists hold that "in pursuit of security, states attempt to capture resources in order to achieve power and the level of power is in turn determined by the states' capabilities, both military and economic" (Morgenthau 1978). Therefore, states always pursue ambitious developments based on aggression, which brings them to a security dilemma "where increasing one's own security compels the opponent to build up its own arms" (Morgenthau 1978). The most important feature of Political Realism is that it is strongly against utopianism (Ferguson 2004). Political Realism can be best understood by Morgenthau's explanations in his book, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, which was written during World War II and revised throughout a large part of the Cold War period, providing an insight into the conduct of international politics. Morgenthau believes:

> In order to improve society it is first necessary to understand the laws by which society lives; human nature, in which the laws of politics have their roots, has not changed since the classical philosophies of China, India, and Greece; A knowledge of human nature will convince us that, with the greatest part of mankind, interests are the governing principle; and that almost every man is more or less, under its influence.
>
> (Morgenthau 1978)

Modern Realists advocate that "universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract universal formulation, but that they must be filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place" (Morgenthau 1978). Therefore, states must recognize different facets of human nature and they must deal with their own terms in order to protect their interests (Morgenthau 1978). Morgenthau's work concludes:

> International politics should be set aside as a separate sphere or a separate unit to be examined and understood; the concept of interest defined in terms of power provides this conceptual mechanism; whatever moral or philosophical reason a decision-maker might offer for a foreign policy decision, what they are actually doing is maximizing power because there is always the distinction between what might be desirable to do and what can actually be done.
>
> (Morgenthau 1978)

Timothy Dunne and Brian Schmidt have described the real essence of Realism with an analogy of three Ss, i.e., Statism, Survival, and Self-help. He explains:

> Statism is the term given to the idea of the state as the legitimate representative of collective will … the first priority of state leaders is to ensure the survival of their state.… Self-help is the principle of action in an anarchical system where there is no global government.
>
> (Dunne and Schmidt 2005, 163–164)

After a long discussion about Realism, Dunne and Schmidt (2005, 163–164) argue that Realism has been the dominant theory in international politics since 1919. Realism placed power politics, the balance of power, and nation states as the major components for understanding international politics. It remained the dominant school of thought in studies of international relations until the emergence of Kenneth Waltz's Neo-Realism. The climax of Carr's Realism was modified by Waltz's induction of Neo-Realism, also called Structural Realism in the 1970s. Neo-Realism, like Classical Realism, also believes that each state in the international environment struggles for power to increase their own power and decrease the power of their enemies, aiming to amass power (Newmann 2007). However, they argue that this power competition is natural in the system because all states look at other states with power as rivals and, therefore, appear threatening to them. It is because "there is no such thing as a world government, states are out there fending for themselves, and so when threatened, must attack first or defend themselves by whatever means they can" (Newmann 2007).

Whereas Classical Political Realism advocates the state as the major unit of analysis, Neo-Realism replaces it with the anarchic nature of the international system. Neo-Realism focuses on the international structure as the main variable, which influences decision-making processes. Waltz presents a distinction between systemic levels of analysis and reductionist levels and describes three

major aspects in international politics, i.e., human behavior, the internal structure of the state, and the anarchic international system (Waltz 1959, 127). He argues that the anarchic nature of the system is the basic cause of war because it influences decision-making processes. While replacing the Realist unit of analysis with the international anarchic structure, Waltz argues:

> [T]here is a distinction to be made between a reductionist level of analysis, that is, the endogenous, domestic level and the international systemic level; it is the systemic or structural level of anarchy in the international system that dictates state behavior.
>
> (Linklater 1996, 67)

Waltz suggests:

> [T]he anarchic structure of the international system breeds suspicion and distrust; the lack of a single sovereign or authority makes it a self-help system, and it is not necessarily irrational or a sign of paranoia to be preoccupied with real, potential, or imagined threats.
>
> (Waltz 1979)

To Waltz, "war occurs because there is nothing to prevent it; the systemic structure of the international system forces states to act the way they do" (Linklater 1996, 67). Therefore, Waltz recommends:

> [T]o achieve their objectives and maintain their security … [states] in a condition of anarchy … must rely on the means they can generate and the arrangements they can make for themselves. Self-help is necessarily the principle of action in an anarchic order.
>
> (Waltz 1979)

Waltz emphasizes that "a self-help system is one in which those who do not help themselves, or who do so less effectively than others, will fail to prosper, will lay themselves open to dangers, will suffer" (Waltz 1979). There is a further division between Neo-Realism and Liberal Realism. The first emphasizes "the permanent condition of conflict; thus, to ensure state security, states must be on constant preparation for conflict through economic and military build-up" (Rhodes 2007). Liberal Realism, which is also known as Neo-Liberal Institutionalism, is advocated by Hedley Bull, who believes that "while the system is anarchical, through diplomacy, international law and society, order can be promoted" (Rhodes 2007). They signify the importance of establishing international governmental organizations, like the League of Nations or United Nations.

Balance of power

Since the balance of power is a central concept in Realist theory, its evolution can be seen in the writings of Realist philosophers. Discussing the evolution of

the balance of power, Alfred Vagts and Detlev Vagts write, "[P]reserving the balance of power as a conscious goal of foreign policy, though certainly known in the ancient world, resurfaced in post-medieval Europe among the Italian city-states in the 15th century" (Vagts 1979, 558). The Italian city-states regarded themselves as alone and apart in a space where the struggle for survival was governed only by force and guile. Because of their ability to mobilize people and resources quickly, they had to live in a condition of constant readiness to react through their own forces or through alliances and arrangements with their fellow governments. In this environment, it naturally occurred to observers to see the maneuvers essentially as balancing operations. Vagts explains that "the historian (and former papal official) Francesco Guicciardini (1482–1540) credits Lorenzo de Medici with originating and practicing equilibrium theory" (Vagts 1979, 558).

The term gained popularity when the Treaty of Utrecht 1713 was concluded; though it could not succeed in achieving its objectives, it gave way to the European states creating a kind of federal community which fundamentally ensured the preservation of a balance of power that aimed to prevent the hegemony of any one state so that none could become strong enough to dictate its laws to the rest. Moreover, keeping in view the interest of all states, it became the duty of all involved to react against any aggression committed by any country through interference or even by use of force (Haas 1953, 370). The notion has profoundly influenced international relations since the sixteenth century. Realists like Morgenthau view "balance of power as a baseline for regional and global stability due to its ability to deter the hegemony of a single state or a coalition of states" (Morgenthau 1978). The Realists believe that a proper balance of power, in an anarchical society of states, restricts a potential hegemonic state's efforts to upset the status quo. Moreover, "under a condition of general equilibrium, rising powers could be socialized into the system's balancing dynamics" (Paul et al. 2004). Howard writes, "England adopted the balance of power as a corner-stone of English policy unconsciously during the sixteenth century, subconsciously during the seventeenth and consciously during the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century" (Howard 1925).

The concept of a balance of power has been understood as "a highly practical principle at once clarifying the nature of the state system and setting forth the operational rules whereby the survival of a single state within that system might be assured" (Haas 1953, 370). The balance of power is based on objectivity without any attachment to a particular ideology, has a universal application, and promotes long-term considerations. The concept of a balance of power is the cornerstone of Neo-Realist theory, which believes that "in international relations, a balance of power exists when there is parity or stability between competing forces" (Oppenheim 1955, 73). In a system of balance of power, "a state may choose to engage in either balancing or bandwagon behavior; in a time of war, the decision to balance or to bandwagon may well determine the survival of the state" (Oppenheim 1955, 73). As a concept in international law, equilibrium among the states in the world prevents any one state becoming so strong that it could enforce its will upon the rest of the nations in the international system.

Oppenheim (1955, 73) justly points out that "equilibrium between the various powers which form the family of nations is, in fact, essential to the very existence of any international law".

The balance of power theory argues that "states will take measures to protect themselves against the power or threats from another state. These measures can either be internal (increasing size of the military) or external (making alliances)" (Elman and Vasquez 2002, 13). It is based on the notion that "survival" is the basic instinct of every state and this determines its behavior in an international anarchic system. The theory argues that:

> states align to protect themselves against the power of or threats from other states; it emphasizes that the determinants of alignment come overwhelmingly from the structure of the international system, particularly the actual and potential external threats that states face.
>
> (David 1991a, 234)

It is a mechanism by which "any threat by one or more countries against one or more other countries is countered by a third, possibly overlapping set of countries" (Horowitz 2001, 705). Waltz writes, "Smaller and weaker states will balance the power or preponderance of more powerful ones to ensure that the latter do not become too powerful and dominate all others" (Mearsheimer 2001, 29–31). For Waltz, "a bipolar structure, as given in the Cold War, seems to be the best and the most peaceful one" (Waltz 1979). A balance of power has often been considered the only dependable strategy in the anarchical international society of states (Paul et al. 2004, 2–4).

The idea of a balance of power has seen a lot of debates and criticism at times. It has been discussed as a vital theory for understanding international relations and has also been charged as an obsolete theory after the end of the Cold War. It has been argued by opponents of Balance of Power theory that "the mechanics of balancing is deemed to have resulted in several armed conflicts, most notably the two cataclysmic World Wars" (Paul et al. 2009) and, moreover, "the quest for a strategic balance was the driving force behind the Cold War, as the two superpowers engaged in a bitter struggle to prevent each other from becoming dominant" (Paul et al. 2004). Paul et al. (2004, 2–4) write:

> Skeptics and critics of Realism believe that balance of power theory has become irrelevant in the face of growing global social forces, while proponents—in particular, realists—contend that balance of power dynamics still operate in world politics in varying forms and intensities. Some realists forecast that intense balancing is bound to happen in the future as relative power capabilities change and U.S. power becomes too threatening for other major states to tolerate.

In short, the balance of power uses the distribution of power to explain international conflict and stability.

In its purest form, the Balance of Power theory examines the strategic incentives for states to come to one another's aid against a state that seeks global domination. In order to survive, states should and will "*balance*" against one another. That is, they will strive to maintain a balance of power (roughly equal levels of power) among them. The study of the balance of power is as ancient as international relations. According to Palmer and Perkin, Kautilya theorized about it; Thucydides advocated it as a policy. Whenever there has been a system of multiple interacting states, some concern for balance among those states has existed (Palmer and Perkins 1988, 211–215). Jack S. Levy writes:

> David Hume regarded the balance of power as a scientific law, and Glenn Snyder called the balance of power "the central theoretical concept in international relations" … Hans Morgenthau, echoing Hume, referred to the balance of power as an "iron law of politics," while others, such as Henry Kissinger, treated the balance of power as more of an art than a science.
>
> (Levy 2004)

The notion of a balance of power has also been subject to criticism for vagueness and inconsistency. Partly in response to efforts at clarification, more specific propositions have been formulated. Entirely aside from the traditional relevance of balance concepts, it is possible that the world is evolving into an international system in which balance and multi-polarity will have many more applications than they have had in recent years (Healy and Stein 1973, 34). Much of the theoretical literature on the balance of power has a profound Eurocentric bias. Thus, the study of the Pakistan–India balance of power is also important because it offers a useful opportunity to test the Balance of Power theory in a non-European context. Simultaneously, a theoretically grounded study of the Pakistan–India balance of power would also fill in an important lacuna in the existing literature. In recent years, the general notions of balance of power have been refined and narrowed into empirically testable propositions. These propositions, authored by Arthur Lee Burns, Morton A. Kaplan, David Singer, and Melvin Small, F.H. Hinsley, and Richard Rosecrance have recently been joined by a number of structural balance hypotheses stemming from the works of Heider, Harary, Taylor, and others.

Since the concept of a balance of power is very ancient, there have been different debates on the theory of different ages, to the extent that many philosophers have introduced their innovations relevant to the basic concept and suggested different modifications in accordance with their contemporary international politics. It is hard to discuss all of them but the most important of them are discussed below in relevance to the India–US Strategic Partnership for better analysis and understanding.

Balance of threat: Stephen M. Walt presented the concept of a balance of threat in his article "Alliance Formation and the Balance of Power", which was published in 1985 in the *Journal of International Security*. According to his theory, "states' alliance behavior is determined by the threat they perceive from other

states" (Walt 1985). Walt contends that "states will generally balance by allying against a perceived threat, although very weak states are more likely to bandwagon with the rising threat in order to protect their own security" (Walt 1985). He presents four important factors that define the value of threat expected from an adversary state, i.e., "aggregate strength (size, population, and economic capabilities), its geographical proximity, its offensive capabilities, and its offensive intentions"; "the more other states view a rising state as possessing these qualities, the more likely they are to view it as a threat and balance against it" (Walt 1985). It is evident that the India–US alliance is determined by the perceived threat from China, which is considered compatible with the threat perception criteria suggested by Walt; its aggregate strength (size, population, and economic capabilities) is moving upward compared with that of other nations in the world (Ho 2006, 558). Its geographical proximity is evident by its strings-of-pearls strategy; its offensive capabilities are no doubt larger than most of the countries in the world and its offensive intentions are not clear in the US's perceptions. China's economic interaction with the rest of the world suggests that it has no offensive intentions while the development of sophisticated military technology and heavy spending on defense puts its adversaries in doubt. Therefore, it can be assumed that the India–US partnership, in the context of the Chinese threat, presents an expression of Walt's idea of a balance of threat. The balance of threat theory contributed to a significant change in Realism by introducing threat as a separate actor from power. Balance of Power theory emphasizes that "states balance against others whose power is rising and greater power is assumed to reflect offensive intentions" (Davis 2004), while Walt argues that "states will not balance against those who are rising in power but do not display offensive intentions" (Davis 2004). Walt gave the example of US emergence as a great power with the support of other allies during the Cold War because it did not show its aggressive intentions during this era, and therefore other nations allied with it (Davis 2004).

Balance of terror: The former US president John F. Kennedy used the phrase "balance of terror" in his inaugural address in 1961, speaking about the US and the USSR: "both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war" (Kennedy 1961). The concept denotes the fear of power between the nuclear-capable nations who have the ability to use nuclear weapons in the event of an armed conflict, which may result in the mutual destruction of both adversaries. It describes "the balance of power between the nuclear-equipped nations, stemming from their fear of mutual annihilation in a nuclear war" (Hirsch et al. 2002). The proponents of a balance of terror claim that it was the fear of nuclear weapons that prevented the US and USSR from waging a full-fledged war with each other during the Cold War, while many armed conflicts did occur in the rest of the world. The concept is relevant to the Pakistan–India rivalry in that both countries have acquired nuclear weapons and have the capacity to destroy each other. Therefore, it is the terror of nuclear weapons which keeps them away from a major armed conflict.

Balance of interests: In its broader sense, a balance of interests means "equilibrium between elements of confrontation and cooperation" (Udalov 1991). It presents a sort of cost and benefit analysis pattern, which compares the intensity of conflicts with mutual interests and, furthermore, brings the adversaries toward the possible option of resolution of conflict. Moreover, "it justifies a possibility not only of a settlement but also for resolution of some conflicts by reconsidering and drawing apart interests that seemed to be mutually denying" (Udalov 1991). In the context of the India–US partnership, the concept of a balance of interests possesses a more or less relevant place. Both India and the US have changed their traditional stances on different issues. As Mohan Malik argues:

> [T]he US and India have similar geostrategic concerns about China's growing power and influence. For India, which has long regarded China as a strategic adversary, the Bush administration's characterization of China as a "strategic competitor" rather than a strategic partner was a welcome development.
>
> (Malik 2003, 110)

The history of India–US relations reflects the opposite view. Moreover, both countries have compensated each other on several international issues (Mohan 2006, 27). Finally, one can say that the India–US partnership reflects some support in terms of the balance of interests.

Omnibalancing: The concept of omnibalancing was introduced by Steven R. David (1991a) when he wrote an article titled "Explaining Third World Alignment". He further refined and explained the concept in his book *Choosing Sides: Alignment and Realignment in the Third World* (David 1991b). Discussing third world international politics, David argues that "the uniqueness of the characteristics and history of third world states bring forth some additional dimensions and issues that need to be taken into account when analyzing Third World foreign relations" (David 1991b, 4). He points out that "Third World states are not only faced by external threats but internal ones too, while the internals were often being the most pressing" (David 1991a). David involves the characteristics of the Realist approach not only in the external affairs of a state but also in the internal affairs of it, which are the most prominent factors that determine the foreign policy of the countries. He introduces anarchy in both realms. In the context of third world international relations, David emphasizes that all factors should be taken into account, internal as well as external, to balance, which is termed omnibalancing. David argues that "introducing the internal dimension, as well as regime type, provides a more accurate way to describe, explain and predict Third World behavior" (David 1991a). Moreover, "the Third World's leaders will align with the superpower they believe will enable them to resist all the threats" (David 1991a). In this context, the concept of omnibalancing has some relevance to the India–US partnership in that the US is vowing to help India become a major power because it

is the largest democracy on earth, while India intends to establish its relations with the US for the purpose of both internal and external benefits. However, in a broader context, the main objectives of both states have international intentions; the US wants to contain China while India wants to be a major power in international politics.

There are two main patterns for the balance of power that are adopted according to the situation faced by the concerned state. These patterns involve direct opposition and competitive methodology. If a state has sufficient resources and is capable of confronting an adversary by increasing its own power, it adopts the pattern of direct opposition. The pattern follows the policy of increasing one's own power in front of the adversary to the extent that the adversary changes its objectives or until one of the conflicting parties obtains a decisive position over the other. The second pattern of a balance of power involves a situation where a state does not want to have direct opposition with its adversary for multiple reasons. These reasons may include a comparatively vulnerable position against adversaries regarding their capabilities, e.g., the Cold War between the US and the USSR where both states had too much power that made each vulnerable to the other, and both states rushed toward making alliances to maintain their dominance. The pattern of "competition" occurs when the competing states struggle for dominance in order to enhance their own power over the rival. This pattern operates through the formation of alliances and counter-alliances between the adversaries.

If we examine Pakistan's security policy in the past, it has always used the pattern of competition and relied on the US's support in case of any severe situation with India; and the US has mostly played the decisive role in mitigating the tension. Pakistan has been a US ally for most part of its life since independence, which has been instrumental in strategic signaling to India regarding tensions with Pakistan. Discussing balancing methods, Kenneth Waltz explains:

> States are unitary actors who, at a minimum, seek their own preservation and at maximum, drive for universal domination. States use all available means to achieve their ends in view; these means include internal efforts (moves to increase economic capability, to increase military strength, to develop clever strategies) and external efforts (moves to strengthen and enlarge one's own alliances or to weaken and shrink an opposing one).
>
> (Waltz 1979)

Paul presents three manifestations of balancing behavior based on the nature and level of threat. These include hard balancing, soft balancing, and asymmetric balancing. A hard-balancing strategy is adopted in the case of intense inter-state rivalry, by pursuing military build-up and formal alliances against the enemy. Soft balancing is based on limited arms build-up when the threat level is low: "[I]t occurs when states generally develop ententes or limited security understandings with one another to balance a potentially threatening

state or a rising power" (Paul et al. 2004, 2–4). Asymmetric-balancing behavior is adopted when states are faced with unconventional and indirect threats by sub-national actors such as terrorist groups. Discussing the current international system. Paul writes:

> The international system is not experiencing the same level of hard balancing it did in the past, but international relations do exhibit several attempts at soft balancing in varying degrees.… At the regional level, evidence exists that hard balancing continues, especially in regions experiencing high levels of conflict, … but varying amounts of soft balancing and asymmetric balancing seem to be occurring just about everywhere.
>
> (Paul et al. 2004, 2–4)

To sum up, there are multiple devices for maintaining the balance of power among states, which are adopted according to the nature of the conflict and intentions of the balancer: mobilizing power (involves rearmament depending on two components: a strong economy and popular public support), alliances and counter-alliances (offensive alliances for upsetting balance and defensive alliances for maintaining balance), intervention and non-intervention (full-scale military participation usually by great powers, and pursuing peaceful methods usually by small states), arms control and disarmament (depends upon the level of vulnerability), compensations (entails annexation or division of territory made by strong powers at the expense of weaker ones), buffer states (geographical barriers between the great powers), divide and rule (exploiting the differences among the adversary's allies) (Spanier 1995, 136). Most of the patterns and methods for achieving a balance of power have been used in the South Asia, which implies that they are relevant to the region. Pakistan has used internal and external balancing techniques of the balance of power system to offset Indian dominance, and its alliance with the US and the West through various campaigns helped it to balance against India. This system was adopted not only by Pakistan but also by India. India's signing of a friendship treaty with the USSR in 1971 was the adoption of an alliance pattern under balance of power system and the USSR's support of the Bangladesh Freedom Movement in 1971 was intended to weaken the US by disintegrating the US ally, Pakistan.

Power transition

Power Transition theory examines how long-term shifts in power shape struggles for dominance in world politics, and why some of those struggles end in cataclysmic wars. A.F.K. Organski formulated the theory in opposition to the Balance of Power theory. The key assertion of Power Transition theory is that inequality, not equality, creates peace. Organski argues that the international system is hierarchical, in which the dominant nation sits at the top while those with 80 percent or more of the dominant country's power play the role as challengers. The dominant power establishes the status quo and some great

powers are satisfied with the status quo while the others are dissatisfied. This dissatisfaction can be based on historical, ideological, religious, territorial, personal, or cultural factors. The dissatisfied states want to change the status quo or the rules of the game. Power Transition theory suggests:

> An even distribution of political, economic, and military capabilities between contending groups of states is likely to increase the probability of war; peace is preserved best when there is an imbalance of national capabilities between disadvantaged and advantaged nations; the aggressor will come from a small group of dissatisfied strong countries; and it is the weaker, rather than the stronger power that is most likely to be the aggressor.
>
> (Organski and Kugler 1980)

Organski introduced a classification of states based on their relative power. States are categorized as the "powerful and satisfied" and "powerful and dissatisfied" through a pyramid, with the most powerful at the top and the least powerful at the bottom. A hierarchy of states, Organski believes, can maintain a peaceful international order according to their relative power. However, when a great power feels that it is powerful enough that it has the right to have hegemonic status, it becomes dissatisfied (Organski and Kugler 1980).

Power Transition theory holds that war is most likely within the international system when the top position in the "status hierarchy" is being challenged. Conversely, peace will prevail when one state is clearly more powerful, i.e., much further up than the others in the ranking of status hierarchy. If one state is in relative decline in terms of its power capabilities, and others are closing the gap, the rising powers may feel that they do not have the recognition/

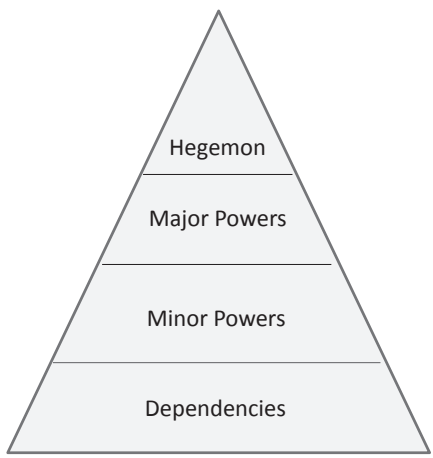

Figure 2.1 Hierarchical international order.

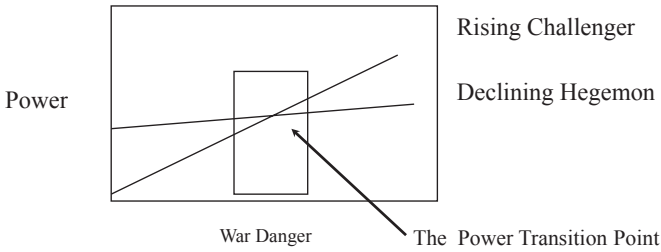

Figure 2.2 The power transition process.

advantages that they deserve and may be more willing to go to war to defend their interests. On the other hand, the leading power may start a preventive war to stop threats from rising challengers before it is too late (Organski and Kugler 1980). Charles Kegley explains the power transition concept and writes:

> During the transition from developing to developed status, the emergent challenger can achieve through force the recognition that their newly formed military muscle allows them; conversely, established powers ruled by risk-acceptant leaders are often willing to employ force to put the brakes on their relative decline; thus, when advancing and retreating states seek to cope with the changes in their relative power, the war between the rising challenger(s) and declining power(s) has become especially likely.
>
> (Kegley 2009, 412)

The power transition germinates the imbalance of power. It gives an option to a disadvantageous state to adopt a revisionist strategy and get rid of its underdog status in regional or global politics. The struggle of the disadvantageous state obviously destabilizes the existing status quo and necessitates that the advantageous state respond to preserve the status quo or its privileged position in the system. Thus, the transition of power entails war.

Structure of power in South Asia

In contrast to the Power Transition theory, the South Asian regional system is non-hierarchical because India does not yet enjoy a hegemonic status in the region. The transition can happen in two ways: from balance to imbalance and from imbalance to balance. There have been various instances of power transition in Pakistan–India relations, which have caused unrest. Currently, a balance of power system between Pakistan and India persists, which is being maintained by Pakistan mainly through nuclear deterrence. The asymmetry in conventional military capabilities is being met through reliance on nuclear weapons and the sophistication of their delivery systems against the Indian threat. Pakistan maintains an equilibrium of power against India by adopting both internal and

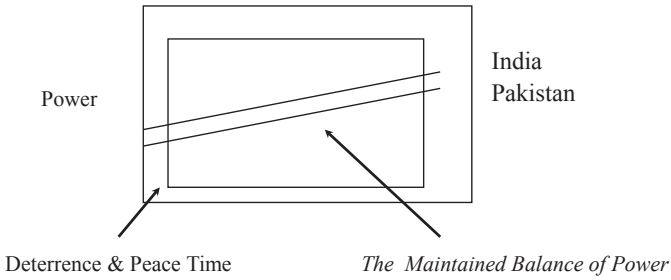

Figure 2.3 India–Pakistan balance of power.

external balancing techniques, i.e., through nuclear deterrence (arming) and outside support (alliances). Although Pakistan is not part of a specific defense agreement with any country in the world, its cordial relations with prominent countries provide a tacit indication of support from friendly countries.

In the South Asian regional system, India with a relatively larger army, population, and economy, has been struggling to establish its superiority in the region. But, the balance of power is not just confined to conventional military balance; rather, it includes various other ingredients of power along with conventional military capacity. The disparity in conventional military capacity does not in any way justify the absolute imbalance of power between the two countries. Equilibrium of power can be maintained by filling the gap with other ingredients as mentioned earlier regarding methods and devices for the balance of power. Pakistan has been using various techniques including internal balancing, external balancing, soft balancing, and hard balancing to maintain balance against India. The relatively larger India poses a threat to Pakistan, who seeks to maintain the power equilibrium. Pakistan is satisfied with the status quo, where it is successful in obtaining the power equilibrium, while India is dissatisfied due to its aspirations for great-power status; therefore, India wants to upset the status quo of power equilibrium in its favor. India's dissatisfaction is based on historical, ideological, religious, territorial, military, regional, and international factors. Dissatisfied India wants to change the status quo (balance of power) and the rules of the game in regional politics, which may lead to power transition and make its the hegemonic state of the region.

Power transition vs balance of power in India–Pakistan relations

The given history of Pakistan–India rivalry shows that their relations have passed through many crises and conflicts. The region has seen various stable as well as unstable periods of relations between the two countries. The history of Pakistan–India rivalry can be divided into two categories due to the dynamic nature of their relative power.

1 Maintained balance of power/relatively stable phases
2 Imbalance of power and power transition/phases of instability

The balance of power has maintained relative stability through multiple variables in different phases of history. These phases consist of relatively peaceful relations between the two countries due to the balance of power.

- 1949–1962: The formative phase after the Kashmir war and United Nations resolutions for settlement of the Kashmir dispute
- 1966–1970: Peace period under the Tashkent Declaration mediated by the Soviets after the 1965 war
- 1972–1998: Truce under the Simla Accord and nuclear weapon development programs with nuclear ambiguity
- 1998–2019: Nuclear deterrence
- The Lahore Declaration
- The Agra Summit.

There has also been an imbalance of power between the two countries on various occasions that paved the way for power transition, which resulted in severe crises, and wars.

- 1948: Kashmir war caused by Pakistan's weakness due to being a newly born state with meager resources
- 1965: War due to India's weakness because of the India–China war in 1962 and a brutal defeat by China
- 1971: Indian intervention in East Pakistan due to internal disharmony and rift
- I984: Operation Meghdoot by India on Siachin Glacier (the world's highest battleground)
- 1986–1987: Indian military exercises named "Brasstacks" near Sind Province of Pakistan
- 1990: Indian deployments at Rajasthan as a reaction to alleged intervention by Pakistan in the Kashmir struggle uprising
- 1998: Indian threats after Pokhran-II nuclear tests on May 11, 1998, while Pakistan responded on May 28, 1998
- 1999: Kargil War due to misperception by the Pakistan Army after nuclear tests
- 2001–2002: Eyeball-to-eyeball deployments after attacks on the Indian Parliament
- 2008: Indian Cold Start doctrine due to conventional warfare asymmetry and under-estimating Pakistan's nuclear deterrence
- 2016: Pathankot Incident and suspension of the dialogue process
- 2016: Indian Claims of Surgical Strikes
- 2019: Post-Pulwama Military Confrontation.

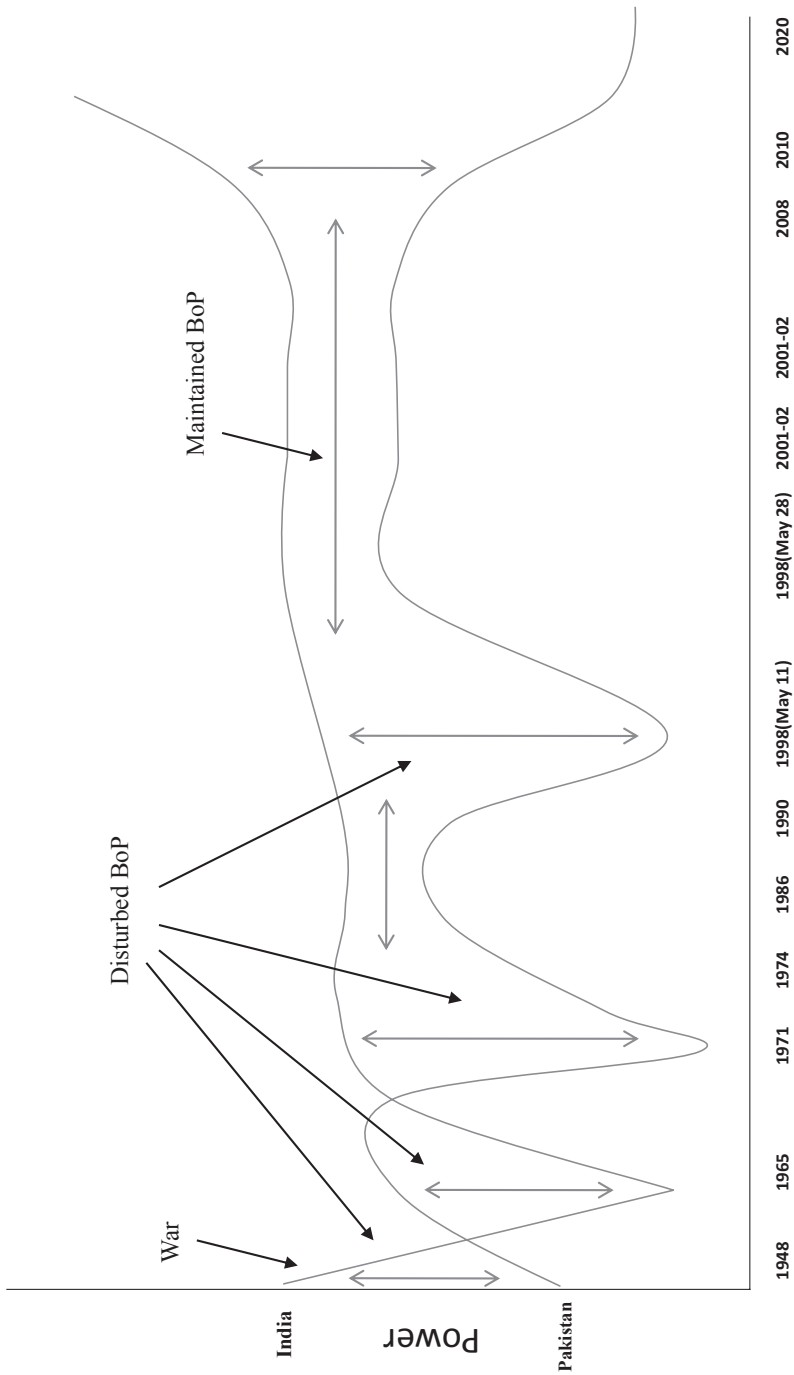

Figure 2.4 Dynamics of balance of power between India and Pakistan.

The analysis of the history of Pakistan–India relations shows that whenever the balance of power between the two states tilted in favor of one state due to internal or external weaknesses, it exacerbated the situation in a way that always led to the emergence of severe crises or resulted in armed conflict. History shows that whenever there is room for power transition in the region, it creates instability while stability has been brought through a balance of power. In this context, any kind of power transition in the region will create an imbalance of power that can create an opportunity for war to occur. Therefore, one may understand that the hierarchical model of power transition cannot bring stability and peace in the region while a sub-system of the balance of power in the region is the only dependable strategy for peace and prosperity.

Relevance to study

After an analysis of the Balance of Power and Power Transition theories, the study has explored that it is not any particular system that brings war or peace; rather, it is an element of "change" that brings instability. Any change in the prevailing system can bring instability, whether in a hierarchical system (power transition) or a balance of power system. As far as the South Asian system is concerned, it is working on balance of power principles. If any kind of change is induced in this system it will bring instability in the region. Keeping in view the historical context of Pakistan–India relations, both balance of power and power transition have played a vital role in creating stability or instability in the relationship between the two countries. Though the theories are considered opposite to each other, their comparative analysis in the case of Pakistan–India rivalry suggests that Power Transition theory does not refute the balance of power in the Pakistan–India context, but rather supports it to some extent.

This study has explored some synonymous attributes in both the Balance of Power and Power Transition theories in terms of result orientation. Changing the balance of power in South Asia is, in fact, an act of transition in South Asia. Power transition means bringing change in the prevailing power equilibrium or bringing power equilibrium in the prevailing hierarchical system. The study gains support from both theories in the sense that, if power transition occurs in South Asia, it will disturb the currently maintained balance of power in the region and may bring war (as proposed by the Power Transition hypothesis); and the Balance of Power hypothesis supports this, in that if the power balance is disturbed, it will bring instability.

The most recent indication of such an eventuality was India's claim that it would conduct "surgical strikes" inside Pakistan, which would be possible only if India gained overwhelming superiority over Pakistan's war-fighting capacity. However, Pakistan rejected Indian claims while relying on the conventional war-fighting capacity coupled with nuclear deterrence to maintain power equilibrium against India. Such claims by India are a clear indication of Indian intentions against Pakistan; if and when it is possible for India to invade Pakistan, India will not abstain from getting involved in violent conflict. Although Pakistan has

been able to maintain the power equilibrium against India, Indian pursuance of military modernization and huge military procurements, from around the world in general and with the US in particular, are contributing to widening the power gap between Pakistan and India. Such arming of India will have severe effects on the balance of power in the region. Hence, it can be argued that by changing the balance of power in India's favor, the India–US Strategic Partnership will bring power transition (transition brings the possibility of war) in South Asia. Therefore, it is believed that the India–US partnership is an "element of change" in the South Asian strategic environment. This partnership challenges the prevailing balance of power system; it will enhance Indian power, which will destabilize the balance of power, and is thus detrimental to Pakistan's security.

Balance of power and power transition in South Asia

The above-mentioned theoretical analysis through the lens of the Balance of Power and Power Transition theories suggests that the Power Transition theory provides an additional explanation of Pakistan–India relations. However, it does not cover the whole gamut of their relationship because of various other variables mentioned in the theory itself, while the Balance of Power theory has always been instrumental in stipulating the nature of the relationship between the two countries. Analysis through the lens of the Balance of Power theory suggests that the India–US Strategic Partnership follows a pattern of competition that adopts the method of alliances from among the various devices of the balance of power. Although the India–US Strategic Partnership was not declared as a formal alliance, it connotes alliance behavior. It is still debatable whether this is defensive or offensive because different factions in international politics have generated different opinions about it. But the most dominant perception about the partnership is that it is offensive in its nature.

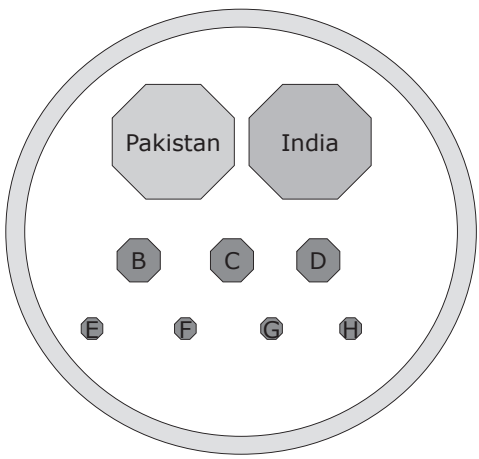

Figure 2.5 Maintained balance of power in South Asia.

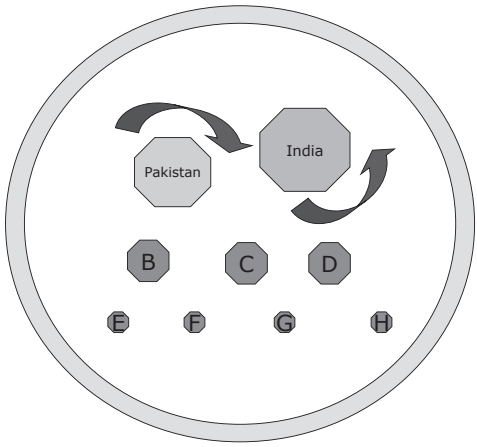

Figure 2.6 Transitioning balance of power in South Asia.

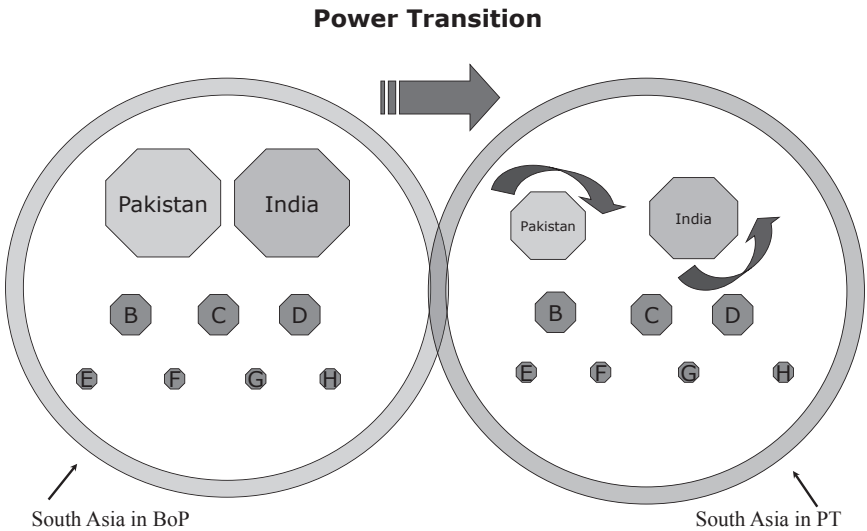

Figure 2.7 The transition process in South Asia.

The study observes that the India–US partnership is an expression of the US policy of containing China as a preventive measure, which has been adopted to maintain the unipolar system and ensure the survival of US hegemony in the world; but if the US continues to support India as a part of its grand strategy, the side effects may have far-reaching implications for Pakistan's security. The study also explores an innovative feature of the balance of power concept

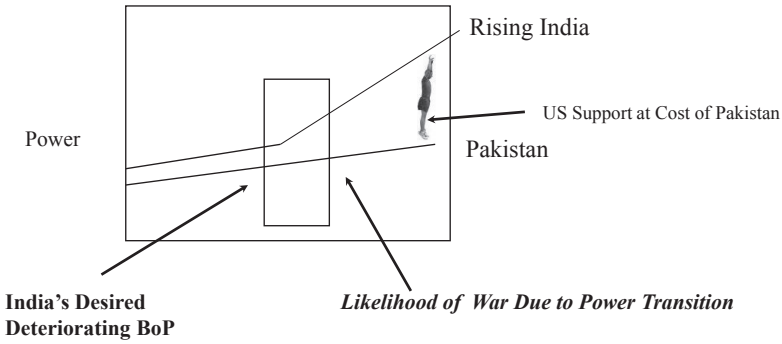

Figure 2.8 India–US Strategic Partnership and power transition in South Asia.

termed virtual balancing, "virtue" meaning goodness and "virtual" meaning existing in essence. The concept is derived from the "virtue" that lies in the notion that balance is both a rational and a stable state of being. Equilibrium is sought per se because it offers more comfort and less tension for the organism or group in which it resides (Healt and Stein 1973, 34). Moreover, it signifies the existence of a balance of power in essence, though not in appearance, everywhere in world politics. However, virtual balancing aims, particularly in the Balance of Power theory, to "suggest", based on systemic considerations, that the concept not only is applicable at the international system level but also has its separate implementation at sub-system levels (regional levels). Moreover, each sub-system level of a balance of power has its own role to play in international politics, and if the level of balance in any sub-system is affected it not only affects other sub-systems of balance of power but also contributes to disturbing the performance of the whole international system.

In this context, it is assumed that the system of a balance of power more or less exists at the international level between the US, China, and other major players; and a sub-system exists between China and India, between China and Japan, between North Korea and South Korea, etc., and between Pakistan and India. In this equation, the Pakistan–India balance of power is a sub-system of the international balance of power system. If it is disturbed, it may not only affect Pakistan but may also affect the whole international system of balances. This is plausible due to modern trends toward globalization in which the interaction among the states has merged the interests and their dependence on each other.

3 History of India–US relations

History plays an important role in understanding the evolution and developments in inter-state relations. For the purpose of understanding the real essence of the India–US Strategic Partnership, it is very necessary to be aware of the history of their relations. This history is comprised of a broad range of areas such as political, economic, trade, technological, security, etc. Each area has a lot of information in its sphere, which cannot be covered as a whole. So concerning the research topic, this chapter tries to cover the most relevant history in specific spheres, which includes a brief history of India–US political relations with regards to foreign relations, especially the history of India–US security relations.

Post-independence relations

Winston Churchill said, "You can always count on Americans to do the right thing after they have tried everything else" (Churchill 2011). But Lalit Mansingh considers Americans five decades late in recognizing and doing the right thing in their relations with India (Mansingh 2006, 1). The leading Indian politician and ex-Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Jaswant Singh, called them "the fifty wasted years" (Mansingh 2006, 1). History shows that the largest democracy in the world was not able to maintain a cordial relationship with the most enthusiastic proponent of democracy in the world. Due to multiple differences between them, they were labeled "estranged democracies" (Kux 1993) but the civil nuclear cooperation agreement between them has converted them to "engaged democracies" (Nautiyal 2006, 1).

The US and India have been described as unfriendly friends. Their relations have been characterized as strained, thin, uneasy, fragile, and a cold peace. Before the official India–US relations commenced in 1947, the interaction between the two countries was minimal. India was a British colony and America's limited activism in world affairs had not been extended to India (Limaye 1993, 5–8). When India finally gained freedom from British rule on August 15, 1947, sadness over the turmoil and bloodshed that followed partition mingled with the joy of freedom. Washington paid only limited attention to the dramatic events in the subcontinent. At the very moment that India and Pakistan

were emerging as independent nations, the US was shaping the concept of "Containment of Communism" which became the driving force of the US's national security policy for the next 44 years (Kux 1993, 55). Each country had a different opinion about its role in world politics. The US considered itself as the savior of the free world, contending the evil forces of communism while India was not involved in such opposition to communism. India declared that is would remain non-aligned and emerged as a leader of the non-alignment movement, which was called immoral by the then US administration to the extent that Eisenhower's Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, described it as "incompatible with friendship with the United States" (Mansingh 2006, 1).

India's post-independence policies, like its unwillingness to join the US-led alliance in the West and adoption of a quasi-socialist economy, were the key difference which prevented the countries from developing any longstanding relationship. Their relationship saw short episodes of blossom during the Korean War which soon vanished with the twin crises of Hungary and Suez in 1956. India condemned the invasion of Suez by Israel, Great Britain and France but did not condemn the brutal crushing of the Hungarian revolt by the Soviet Union (Gupta 2005, 1–2). Despite declaring itself as a non-aligned state, India moved closer to the US's chief enemy, the Soviet Union, who emerged as a principal source of major military equipment for India in the sixties (Kux 2002, 2). Moreover, the US's efforts to bring India and Pakistan to the negotiating table for the resolution of the Kashmir dispute compelled the Indian government to distance itself from the US (Kux 2002, 2).

In an interview with the author about the role of Pakistan in India–US estrangement during the early years of Indian independence, General Asad Durrani (ex-Director General, Inter-Services Intelligence) was of the view that "India was America's first choice (as an ally in the Region) soon after India and Pakistan had got their freedom.… However, Nehru, due to his anti-imperialist ideology was not prepared to join the US camp against the Soviet Union" (Lt. General (retd) Asad Durrani 2011). In another interview with the author, Onkar Marwah, an expert in nuclear studies at the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies in India, was of the view that:

> India was determined not to be an automatic camp-follower of the Western countries (which were led by the USA) while not planning, either, to be hostile to them. Nor did it feel any enmity to the-then Soviet Bloc of states—despite the rejection of their Communist Model. Pakistan became a factor in India's estrangement with the US only after it decided to become a military ally of the West through CENTO (and later SEATO also). It was viewed as "bringing the Cold war to India's doorstep".
>
> (Marwah 2011)

Answering the same question, Lora Salmaan, an expert on nuclear policy at the Carnegie–Tsinghua Center for Global Policy, said that she "would attribute early estrangement in the U.S.-India relationship to a number of factors, among

which Pakistan is certainly one. The US support for Pakistan at the political, economic and military level has long been attributed as a point of discord" (Salmaan 2011). Santosh Saha (the author of a book on India–US relations) was of the view that "India, unlike Pakistan, was more concerned with her domestic reconstruction" (Saha 2011). Summit Ganguly, an expert and author on South Asia, responding the same question, said, "The estrangement stemmed from India's pursuit of non-alignment and the US interest in eliciting India's support for anti-Communism. Furthermore, the US military pact with Pakistan in 1954 seriously impaired the Indo-US relationship" (Ganguly 2012). Discussion with Indian, US, and Pakistani experts reveals that, although India wanted to pursue an independent foreign policy, Pakistan was one of the major factors that kept India and the US estranged from each other in the formative phase of their relationship.

There was limited India–US defense cooperation in the early 1950s and 1960s. Subrahmanyam (2005) writes, "In 1950, India did import one division of Sherman tanks (of World War II vintage) from the US". There was a brief period of cooperation between the two countries when the 1962 India–China war led India's Prime Minister Nehru to put aside the non-alignment policy and look toward the US for help against China on an urgent basis. It was the zenith of the India–US relationship. The US supported India on all political, diplomatic, and international fronts along with military cooperation (Tellis 2006b, 1–2). Discussing India–US cooperation against China during the 1962 war, Gupta writes, "The United States transferred conventional weapons to India, discussed covering India under its nuclear umbrella, and for a while was inclined to set up intelligence posts in the country to monitor China" (Gupta 2005, 1–2). During this phase, the US gave a lot of aid to India and viewed it as a strong ally in the US alliance against global Communism, while the Indian government was very much reluctant to formally declare itself as a US ally in anti-Communism efforts.

At the same time, growing Soviet problems with China led to a strengthening of the India–Soviet Union relationship, particularly in the sphere of military cooperation. At that moment, the US administration was also divided on cooperation with India; the Pentagon opposed it due to its implications for strategic ties with Pakistan, and, therefore, India remained "strategically irrelevant to the United States" as mentioned by Lalit Mansingh (2006, 1). Meanwhile, the Indian act of signing the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation of 1971 with the Soviet Union caused a serious blow to India–US relations. Summit Ganguly writes, "India's ties to the Soviet Union, coupled with its feckless anti-American rhetoric, stunted any meaningful improvement in Indo-American relations" (Ganguly 2005, 2). Due to the Indian tilt toward the Soviet Union, India–US relations could not develop in a friendly way and were strained further during the India–Pakistan war in 1971.

Dennis Kux writes, "Indian officials believe that the Nixon administration sent an aircraft carrier, the USS Enterprise, into the Bay of Bengal to put pressure on India to halt the military campaign against Pakistan" (Kux 1993, 55).

Discussing the reasons for the estrangement between the two countries, Ashley Tellis writes, "The growing US disenchantment with Indian neutralism in the face of years of American assistance, the distractions of the Vietnam War, and the increasingly manifest failures of Indian socialism, altogether set the stage for repeated confrontations" (Tellis 2006b, 1–2). The first Indian nuclear test in 1974 further deteriorated the relationship because of the activation of automatic US non-proliferation measures against India. Amit Gupta writes:

> It compelled the United States to strengthen its nonproliferation policies with the Glenn-Symington Amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act and the 1978 Nuclear Nonproliferation Act along with the formation of the London Club, which included Western suppliers, in 1975 imposing "full-scope safeguards" on future technology transfers.
>
> (Gupta 2005, 1–2)

However, during the 1980s, efforts were underway to improve India–US relations when India's Prime Minister Indira Gandhi met with US officials at the Cancun summit in 1981. According to a declassified National Security Decision Directive issued by then US president Ronald Reagan:

> We have enjoyed some success in improving relations with India beginning with the 1981 Cancun Summit … Mrs. Gandhi visited the US Vice-President Bush and Secretary Shultz visited India.… Bilateral economic, scientific, technological, and cultural links are slowly expanding, and the groundwork is being laid for widened technology transfer, including the new arms sales.… Serious differences persist regarding U.S. arms sales to Pakistan, India's unsafeguarded nuclear program.
>
> (National Security Decision Directive 147 1984)

These efforts came to fruition when the Memorandum of Understanding 1985 was signed on the transfer of technology and the Kicklighter Proposals were formulated, introducing a "common strategic vision" in 1991. Mansingh writes, "These two developments promoted Indo-US relations and resulted in the agreed minute of Defense cooperation signed during the US Defense Secretary, William Perry's visit to India in January 1995" (Mansingh 2006, 1). In the wake of the Agreed Minute on Defense Relations, joint India–US steering committees were established to promote coordination between the armed and naval services of both countries. Barbara Leitch LePoer writes, "Perry and Indian Defense Secretary Achutan Nambiar met in Washington in September 1995, reportedly to lay the groundwork for future defense cooperation, including regular military-to-military visits and technical assistance on research and development projects" (LePoer 1996, 3). LePoer indicated that "army interaction has included an agreement on increased exchange visits, to include students, the US medical officers studying the effects of high altitude on troops, and, possibly, small training teams attending military exercises" (LePoer 1996, 3). In short, the end

of the Cold War was one of the major elements that contributed to the development of the relationship between the two countries.

Post–Cold War relations

The US Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, commenting on the US's relations with India, said they were the "victim of incompatible obsessions, India's with Pakistan and America's with the Soviet Union, both were guilty of being on best terms with each other's principal enemy" (Talbott 2004). Dennis Kux considers that the end of the Cold War brought a significant change in the US's relations with India (Kux 2002, 2). India adopted new global realities and changed its policies, alliances, and roles in international politics. The collapse of the Soviet Union resulted in the collapse of India's most reliable source of military equipment as well as economic assistance. Thereafter, India needed not only a new and reliable trading partner but also dependable support against its traditional rivals in its immediate neighbors, i.e., China and Pakistan.

LePoer is of the view that "the end of a bipolar world has made India's traditional, though often symbolic, role as a leader of the non-aligned world essentially obsolete" (LePoer 1996, 3). Discussing Strobe Talbott's thoughts, Mansingh writes:

> India was cropping up frequently in Clinton's conversations in the very first year of his presidency and the Clinton [*sic*] regarded India a potentially important power for the United States. … India felt the heat of Clinton's zeal in pursuing nuclear non-proliferation.
>
> (Mansingh 2006, 1)

India's reluctance about US non-proliferation efforts was also one of the major reasons for disenchantment between the two nations. Discussing the Indian view on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), Talbott writes, "the NPT represented for Indians, the three Ds of US nuclear policies: dominance, discrimination, and double standards" (Talbott 2004). Another very significant reason for Indian suspicion about the US was the its tilt toward Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. Quoting a newly appointed Assistant Secretary of State in the Clinton administration, Robin Raphel, Subhash Shukla writes

> [I]n the US policies and perceptions, Jammu and Kashmir remained a disputed area; the US did not consider the Instrument of Accession signed by the maharaja of Kashmir in October 1947, making Jammu and Kashmir a part of India, politically or legally valid.
>
> (Shukla 2007)

Indians became more skeptical about the US when Tom Pickering, the undersecretary of state, spoke about a strategic dialogue between the US and India, and said: "These dialogues would cover the whole gamut of relations"

(Mansingh 2006, 1). However, dialogues did not materialize because of Indian nuclear tests in 1998. Washington imposed sanctions on India and Pakistan and condemned both in the UN Security Council and the G-8 forums. Though many sanctions were lifted by Congress, some of key importance remained in force. But keeping in view the danger of nuclear escalation in South Asia, the US remained in contact with both neighboring nuclear rivals, India and Pakistan, to reduce the chances of escalation and to try to roll back the nuclear program of both countries. As a part of this exercise, Strobe Talbott held 14 rounds of talks with India's Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh, which brought about a significant policy shift in US thinking about nuclear matters in South Asia. Discussing shift in the US policy toward India, Gupta writes, "The earlier position of the Clinton administration was to 'cap, reduce, and rollback' the nuclear programs of both countries [but this] position changed … to one of urging India and Pakistan to keep their forces non-deployed and at the lowest possible levels" (Gupta 2005, 1–2). In Talbott's words, "India had put on notice that it was now unambiguously, unapologetically and irrevocably, a nuclear-armed power" (Talbott 2004).

Mansingh writes:

> The US offered India a grand bargain under which it would withdraw its nuclear and technology sanctions provided India met four benchmarks: Sign the CTBT; Negotiate a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT); Enforce world class export controls on nuclear and missile and technology and; Observe a non-threatening defence posture.
>
> (Mansingh 2006, 2)

However, the dialogue did not achieve the US's objectives while India succeeded in achieving its objectives of paving a way forward for the legitimization of India's nuclearization and creating a shift in US thinking about India. At the same time, one more incident contributed a lot toward re-building India–US relations when then US president Bill Clinton played a proactive role in resolving the Kargil issue by convincing Pakistan's prime minister, Nawaz Sharif, to withdraw forces after intense crisis diplomacy in 1999 (Gupta 2005, 1–2). Bruce Riedel says that "the events of that 4th July 1999 accelerated the road to a fundamental reconciliation between the world's two largest democracies, India and the United States" (Riedel 2002, 1).

In the year 2000, Bill Clinton, then US president, paid a visit to South Asia which proved to be a turning point toward improved security relations between the two countries, as was evident in the joint statement that pledged to "deepen the Indian-American partnership in tangible ways" (Joint Statement by President Clinton and Prime Minister Vajpayee 2000). This visit seemed to be a major initiative by the US to develop cooperative relations with India. President Clinton himself said that "the US had ignored India over the preceding 20 years and indicated that it would end the passive impact caused by nuclear issues in the future" (Qidwai 2005). According to the Delhi Declaration of March 2000,

the US president and Indian prime minister decided to take further steps to institutionalize and intensify the mutual relationship (Joint Statement by President Clinton and Prime minister Vajpayee 2000). A new vision for India–US relations was crafted in the Delhi Declaration, which emphasized cooperation on a wide range of areas, i.e., in high-tech areas, knowledge-based industries, trade openings, investment opportunities, economic interaction, energy, environment, health, and education (Clinton and Vajpayee 2000). Soon after Clinton's visit to India in the early days of 2000, Vajpayee paid a visit to the US later in the same year, where he addressed a joint session of Congress and met the US president. The leaders issued a joint statement "agreeing to cooperate on arms control, terrorism, and HIV/AIDS" (Kronstadt 2006, 3). Before departing the White House, the Clinton administration laid down the foundations for enhanced cooperation between the countries.

The September 2001 terrorist attacks on the Twin Towers in the US provided an opportunity for India to offer complete cooperation in the counter-terrorism operation along with permission to use Indian bases. Kronstadt writes, "The offer reflected the sea change that has occurred in the India–United States relationship, which for decades was mired in the politics of the Cold War and India's friendly relations with the Soviet Union" (Kronstadt 2006, 3). The events of 9/11 brought an impetus into this changing relationship and President George W. Bush further developed the policy of the Clinton administration. Discussing the transforming India–US relations, Minhaj Qidwai writes, "[T]he two countries together implemented a co-operative framework of relationships based on three dimensions: democracy, economy, and security" (Qidwai 2005). Each of the two countries labels itself the leading democratic country. India's economy was booming with outsourcing to foreign countries and expansion in the IT sector. Americans began to depend heavily on the expertise of the Indians. With this arrangement, both Indian and US companies began profiting themselves.

In due course, the US began to feel that nuclear India could potentially cooperate with it in different areas. Moreover, India supported the US's policies on many issues of key importance such as the missile defense program, which India could never do during Cold War because of its relations with the former Soviet Union and the US policy on containment of Communism (Qidwai 2005). The India–US relationship began to improve in the second term of the Bush administration when US officials saw potential in India as a reliable ally for US policy objectives in Asia. As then Secretary of State Colin Powell said before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

> There is another country … that I want to mention before I leave this regional perspective, a country that should grow more and more focused in the lens of our foreign policy, that country is India … We must deal wisely with the world's largest democracy; soon to be the most populous country in the world, India has the potential to help keep the peace in the vast Indian Ocean area and its periphery; we need to work harder and more

> consistently to assist India in this endeavor, while not neglecting our friends in Pakistan.
>
> (Powell 2001)

India–US relations were further strengthened and accelerated after a meeting between Prime Minister Vajpayee and President Bush in November 2001. Both agreed to expand their mutual relations in a number of areas, which included the economy, security, space, counter-terrorism, arms sales, scientific collaboration, regional security, civilian nuclear safety, and joint military exercises. Thereafter, the India–US Defense Policy Group convened a meeting in December 2001 to chalk out plans for conducting high-level dialogue in the area of defense cooperation (Kronstadt 2006, 3). The relationship gained more momentum when the Bush administration's National Security Strategy 2002 stated that "the US interests require a strong relationship with India; we are the two largest democracies, committed to political freedom protected by representative government" (The National Security Strategy of the United States of America 2002, 27).

Next Step Strategic Partnership (NSSP)

By 2001, India began to pursue the US for cooperation in three important areas known as "trinity", which included easing restrictions on dual-use high-technology goods, civil nuclear cooperation, and civilian space cooperation. In January 2004, President Bush and Prime Minister Vajpayee issued a joint statement indicating that "the India–United States 'strategic partnership' included expanding cooperation in the trinity areas as well as expanding dialogue on missile defense" (Joint Statment President Bush and Prime Minister Vajpayee 2004). This development was later termed as "quartet". Cooperation in quartet areas further expanded through reciprocal steps between the countries, which were known as the Next Step Strategic Partnership (NSSP). NSSP helped in establishing enhanced cooperation in the fields of dual-use, space, and nuclear technology. These forward-step interactions not only developed trust and harmony in joint activities between the two states but also broadened defense sales opportunities for US companies in India (Saran 2005, 4). Among the areas of dual-use, space, and nuclear technologies as goals of NSSP, civil nuclear technology cooperation was dealt with in the first phase, which was accomplished in September 2004. A joint statement on NSSP on September 17, 2004, describes, "Since January, the two governments have worked closely together to conclude phase one of the NSSP. This has included the implementation of measures to address proliferation concerns and ensure compliance with US export controls" (Next Steps in Strategic Partnership Between India and the United States 2004). In October 2004, both countries decided to create a working group for Indian adherence to US non-proliferation efforts and discuss the scope of nuclear cooperation between the two countries. In July 2005, India's Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's visited the US where he conveyed that, for his part, "India would reciprocally agree that it would be ready to assume the same

responsibilities and practices and acquire the same benefits and advantages as other leading countries with advanced nuclear technology, such as the United States" (Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh 2005).

In June 2005, the New Framework of Defense Relations was agreed upon between India and the US. Both countries agreed to expand their cooperation in the area of defense relations and sketch out a framework for cooperation in the next ten years, agreeing to work together for mutual interests. According to a press release by the Indian embassy in Washington, DC:

> [T]hese interests include maintaining security and stability, defeating terrorism and violent religious extremism, preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction and associated materials, data, and technologies and protecting the free flow of commerce via land, air and sea lanes.
>
> (New Framework for the US–India Defense Relationship 2005)

In the same press release, the Indian government claimed:

> In pursuit of this shared vision of an expanded and deeper India–United States strategic relationship, our defense establishments shall conduct joint and combined exercises and exchanges, collaborate in multinational operations when it is in their common interest, strengthen the capabilities of our militaries to promote security and defeat terrorism, expand interaction with other nations in ways that promote regional and global peace and stability, enhance capabilities to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, expand two-way defense trade, work to conclude defense transactions, and building greater understanding between defense establishments.
>
> (New Framework for the US–India Defense Relationship 2005)

During the Indian prime minister's visit to the US in July 2005, a landmark joint statement was issued by India and the US in which the US president, George W. Bush, declared a promise "to help India become a major world power in the 21st century'" and decided to conduct India–US relations in three main areas: strategic, economic, and energy (Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh 2005). The State Department announced it as:

> a milestone in the US–India strategic relationship [with] successful completion of the NSSP, allowing for expanded bilateral commercial satellite cooperation, removal of US export license requirements for unilaterally controlled nuclear items to most end-users, and the revision of US export license requirements for certain items used in safeguarded civil nuclear power facilities.
>
> (Kronstadt 2006, 3)

Prime Minister and President Bush vowed to develop the mutual relationship toward global partnership. Both leaders promised to work together for the values of democracy, human rights and freedom, peace, and stability for the whole world. They said that their relationship would "enhance their ability to work together to provide global leadership in areas of mutual concern and interest" (Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh 2005). Recognizing the importance and urgency of nuclear energy needs on the global spectrum, the leaders discussed the Indian nuclear energy programs. Bush assured Singh that civilian nuclear energy cooperation would be promoted in all of its areas with India, to achieve energy security. He further emphasized that he would also seek an adjustment in US policies and laws from Congress. Moreover, the US president committed to working with "friends and allies to adjust the international regimes to enable full civil nuclear energy cooperation and trade with India" (Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh 2005).

Shayam Saran writes, "The wide-ranging nature of the various cooperative initiatives that were envisaged and the relationship to issues of fundamental concern to both countries announced that the strategic partnership had moved beyond its declaratory phase" (Saran 2005, 4). Taken together, both statements, on the Defense Framework Agreement in June 2005 and the joint statement by India and US in July 2005, provide for further enhancement of cooperation in all four areas of NSSP. Significantly, the July 2005 joint statement emphasized that "as a responsible state with advanced nuclear technology, India should acquire the same benefits and advantages as other such states" (Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh 2005). Moreover, President Bush vowed "to work on achieving full civilian nuclear energy cooperation with India" (Milbank and Linzer 2005). To this cooperation, India responded with the commitment to take steps toward separation of its civilian and military nuclear installations, placing the civilian installations under standard international safeguards (Chandrasekharan 2005).

The India–US Strategic Partnership advanced further in 2006 and the US declared India a key player in enhancing the US's role as a major power. The US's National Security Strategy 2006 of claimed that "India now is poised to shoulder global obligations in cooperation with the United States in a way befitting a major power" (National Security Strategy 2006, 39). On March 2, 2006, a joint statement by both leaders said, "President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh expressed satisfaction with the great progress United States and India have made in advancing strategic partnership to meet the global challenges of the 21st century" (Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh 2006). This statement also declared successful completion of India's separation plan. According to a White House press release, both leaders "welcomed the successful completion of discussions on India's separation plan and looked forward to the full implementation of the commitments in the July 18, 2005 Joint Statement on nuclear cooperation" (Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and Prime

Minister Manmohan Singh 2006). Under this landmark nuclear cooperation, both India and the US agreed to promote full civil nuclear cooperation, providing India an opportunity to pursue cooperation and trade in this area. Moreover, according to a press release by the US White House:

> India has also agreed to take steps that will bring it into the international non-proliferation mainstream, including placing its civilian nuclear facilities and programs under IAEA safeguards and adhering to the guidelines of the Nuclear Suppliers Group and the Missile Technology Control Regime.
>
> (Press Release 2006a)

Under the provisions of the agreed separation plan on March 2, 2006, "India appears to place 14 of 22 reactors under safeguards, equaling about 65% of India's total nuclear energy output" (Squassoni 2006, 2). Prime Minister Manmohan Singh gave a detailed speech on India's plans to separate its civilian and military nuclear facilities in Parliament on March 7, 2006. Referring to the speech, P.R. Chari writes,

> India proposed to offer 14 thermal power reactors between 2006 and 2014 for safeguarding that include the 6 currently safeguarded reactors (Tarapur 1&2, Rajasthan 1&2, Kudankulam 1&2) and 8 other 220 MW Pressurized Heavy Water Reactors (PHWRs) whose identity and phasing would be indicated later.… All future civilian thermal power reactors and civilian breeder reactors, so identified by India, will be placed under safeguards.
>
> (Chari 2006a, 1)

According to the joint statement of March 2, 2006, both countries agreed to enhance their cooperation in each area of strategic significance, including the economy (trade, investment and agriculture), democracy, energy and environment, security (maritime security cooperation, counter-terrorism, military logistics support, defense trade, and non-proliferation), innovative and advanced technologies (intellectual property rights, science, space) and public health (Joint Statement by President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh 2006). After the Bush administration, the new government under President Barack Obama also welcomed India as an important partner in US international relations. The US's Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, termed this partnership with India a "partnership of democracies" (Clinton 2010). She proclaimed that "the signing of Agreement for Cooperation between the Government of India and the Government of the United States of America concerning Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy by both countries on October 10, 2008, reflects the culmination of the transformation process" (IALC n.d.). While writing on the cooperation in international politics, she emphasized that:

> India is an Asian power, and a secure, prosperous Asia is critical to a secure, prosperous world. The US wants to work with India to create an

> open and inclusive regional architecture that makes it possible for all countries in Asia to rise and prosper. Toward that vision, we are called to promote trade, protect vital sea lanes and respond to natural disasters.
>
> (Clinton 2010)

The Obama administration

President Barack Obama's administration continued to develop cordial relations with India. After his election as president, Obama invited India's Prime Minister Manmohan Singh as the first state guest of his new administration on November 22–26, 2009. According to the website of the Indian Embassy in Washington, DC:

> The visit focused on the common interests and shared values in a strategic partnership of global relevance and reflected the vision and resolve of the two leaders to embark upon a new phase in their bilateral partnership. In their meeting on November 24, Prime Minister and the US President reviewed all aspects of the India–US bilateral relationship including the progress of the Strategic Dialogue that was announced during the visit of Mrs. Clinton to India on July 20, 2009. Eight MOU/MOIs [memoranda of understanding/intent] were signed between the two sides during the visit.
>
> (Embassy of India 2010)

Prior to the visit of the Indian prime minister to the US, Hillary Clinton, the Secretary of State, who termed India–US Strategic Partnership a "partnership of democracies" (Clinton 2010), paid a visit to India in July 2009 where she launched a new strategic dialogue with India. According to Teresita C. Schaffer:

> She signed two important new agreements, a Technical Safeguards Agreement permitting U.S.-licensed components to be used on Indian civilian spacecraft, and an agreement creating a $30-million endowment to fund science, technology, and innovation. The Indian government settled the end-use monitoring arrangements needed to permit major military sales from the United States and pledged to designate two sites for U.S. companies to build nuclear facilities.
>
> (Schaffer 2009b)

During a reception for India–US strategic dialogue session in June 2010 in Washington, DC, President Obama said:

> India is a leader in Asia and around the world. It's a rising power and a responsible global power. That's why I firmly believe that the relationship between the United States and India will be a defining partnership in the 21st century. The new National Security Strategy that I released last week

> makes this absolutely clear: A fundamental pillar of America's comprehensive engagement with the world involves deepening our cooperation with 21st-century centers of influence, and that includes India.
>
> (Remarks by President Obama at US–India Strategic Dialogue Reception 2010)

Most of the new developments in India–US relations can be found in President Obama's visit to India on November 6, 2010. The US National Security Council spokesman Mike Hammer said about India on the eve of the US president's visit, "[W]e have a strategic partnership which we're trying to develop. India is an indispensable partner; one that we recognize is rising on the global stage, one that we want to embrace"; he added that "there are many things we can do together that advance both our countries' interests and also that provide for others" (*Economic Times* 2010). The most important event of Obama's visit to India was the declaration of US support in obtaining a United Nations Security Council's permanent seat for India. Ashley Tellis said that this is important in the sense that "it communicates to the outside world that the United States values its relationship with India in ways that people did not appreciate before" (Srinivasan 2010).

According to Robert M. Hathaway, Asia Program director at the Woodrow Wilson International Center, "It turns out that the skeptics were wrong. Historians will see the trip as an important milestone in the maturation and consolidation of what President Obama called 'the defining partnership of the 21st century,'" (*Deccan Herald* 2010). Lisa Curtis, the South Asia specialist at The Heritage Foundation, said:

> [T]he visit sent a clear signal of the importance his administration attaches to India, highlighting both economic and security cooperation. Robust endorsement of India's global role can also be seen in other more concrete initiatives like the easing of export controls on Indian organizations and support for Indian membership in nonproliferation groupings like the Nuclear Suppliers Group and the Missile Technology Control Regime.
>
> (Deccan Herald 2010)

According to a press release by the White House:

> The two leaders reaffirmed that India–U.S. strategic partnership is indispensable not only for their two countries but also for global stability … President Obama welcomed India's emergence as a major regional and global power and affirmed his country's interest in India's rise, its economic prosperity, and its security.
>
> (Joint Statement by President Obama and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh 2010)

During his visit to India, President Barack Obama made trade deals worth $10 billion that could create fifty thousand jobs for the US and announced that

he would take measures to remove Indian space and defense companies from the restricted entities list. He also declared US support for India for its move to obtain a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council as well as membership of global non-proliferation regimes. According to the Obama–Singh joint statement, "The United States intends to support India's full membership in the four multilateral export-control regimes (Nuclear Suppliers Group, Missile Technology Control Regime, Australia Group, and Wassenaar Arrangement) in a phased manner" (Joint Statement by President Obama and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh 2010). Based on the counter-terrorism initiative of 2010, both states agreed to enhance cooperation in counter-terrorism capacity building and transfer of technology for the purpose.

Regarding their role in international affairs, both sides declared their resolve to promote cooperation and consultation toward building a stable Afghanistan. Both states also acknowledged the importance of access to the sea, air, and space in an interdependent economic world and launched a dialogue to develop cooperation in these areas to enhance security and development. The leaders stated their intention to enhance defense cooperation in multiple areas, i.e., defense equipment, military exercises, and security issues. According to the joint statement by President Obama and Prime Minister Singh: "United States welcomes India's decision to purchase U.S. high-technology defense items, which reflects our strengthening bilateral defense relations and will contribute to creating jobs in the United States" (Joint Statement by President Obama and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh 2010). They also welcomed the Memorandum of Understanding for "cooperation in the Global Centre for Nuclear Energy Partnership being established by India" (Joint Statement by President Obama and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh 2010). Both leaders also showed their satisfaction over the completion of initial steps toward the implementation of an India–US civilian nuclear agreement. According to the joint statement:

> The United States and India reiterated their commitment to build strong India–U.S. civil nuclear energy cooperation through the participation of the U.S. nuclear energy firms in India on the basis of mutually acceptable technical and commercial terms and conditions that enable a viable tariff regime for electricity generated.
>
> (Joint Statement by President Obama and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh 2010)

President Obama also addressed the joint session of the Indian Parliament on November 8, 2010, during which he termed the India–US partnership the defining partnership of the 21st century and put emphasis on joint India–US efforts to work in three main areas, including global partnership to promote prosperity in both countries by creating high-tech and high-wage jobs for each other, civilian nuclear cooperation to meet India's energy needs, and partnership in high-tech defense and space areas. He also pledged to cooperate in agricultural development to spark the green revolution, weather forecasting,

improving the health sector, educational cooperation through student exchanges, democratic development through strengthening democratic governance and human rights, while at the same time making mention of Indian avoidance of human rights issues in international forums (Text of President Barack Obama's Address to a Joint Session of the Indian Parliament 2010).

The strategic dialogue: stepping ahead

In order to channelize the strategic relationship, an initiative was taken in 2009 by the US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, and Indian Foreign Minister S.M. Krishna, who jointly set up a structure for developing ties in the core areas of mutual interests. They announced that annual strategic dialogues would be conducted in alternate capitals. According to the joint statement of the Krishna–Clinton meeting in 2009:

> This dialogue will focus on a wide range of bilateral, global, and regional issues of shared interest and common concern, continuing programs currently under implementation and taking mutually beneficial initiatives that complement Indian and U.S. development, security and economic interests.
>
> (US–India Joint Statement 2009)

A series of annual strategic dialogues started in 2010 with the first meeting in Washington, DC, when India's External Minister, S.M. Krishna, visited the US in June. The first round took into account discussions related to advancement in global security and countering terrorism, disarmament and non-proliferation, trade and economic relations, high technology, energy security, clean energy and climate change, agriculture, education, health, science and technology. They also agreed to continue the process of strategic dialogue for further discussions and development (US–India Strategic Dialogue Joint Statement 2010). One of the significant developments made by the first dialogue was that it set the stage for President Obama's visit to India where he declared the US's promise to support India's bid for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council as the linchpin.

The second round of strategic dialogue took place in New Delhi on July 19, 2011, with a visit by the US Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, to India. This round was mainly focused on the enhancement of bilateral issues encompassing defense, security and counter-terrorism, civil nuclear cooperation, membership of export-control regimes, export-control cooperation, nuclear security, strategic security dialogue, education, innovation, science and technology, and space (India–US Strategic Dialogue Joint Statement 2011). This dialogue mainly reiterated the commitments made by the two countries regarding the implementation of the nuclear cooperation agreement and expressed satisfaction over the developments regarding India's full membership of various export-control regimes including the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG), the Missile

Technology Control Regime (MTCR), the Australia Group, and the Wassenaar Arrangement (India–US Strategic Dialogue Joint Statement 2011).

The third round of strategic dialogue was conducted at Washington on June 13, 2012, with the visit of India's Minister of External Affairs, S.M. Krishna. This dialogue did not represent any significant progress in India–US relations and relied on reiterating the commitments and promises made earlier and finding opportunities in further areas of mutual interests. However, this dialogue contained a comprehensive discussion regarding Afghanistan and each aspect of the upcoming transition in Afghanistan was taken into account. Both countries committed to cooperate with each other in the Afghanistan transition process and also talked about the possibilities of trilateral dialogue including the Afghan government (Joint Statement on the Third US–India Strategic Dialogue 2012). Analysis of discussions regarding Afghanistan suggest that the US wanted to replace itself with India in Afghanistan as a guardian of US interests. The first two dialogues were also significant regarding India–US collaboration in regional development and especially the US effort to encourage India to enhance its role in Afghanistan. The US has been very ambitious in providing India the role of a regional player, a security provider, and a key partner in the "rebalancing" policy of the US. The US looks at India as the security provider in the Asia-Pacific region, and India is also ambitious to adopt this role, but at the same time is skeptical about adopting a subservient role in the US's policy in Asia. This strategic conundrum raises big questions for mutual cooperation between the two countries.

The fourth round of strategic dialogue was conducted on June 24, 2013, in New Delhi, between the US's Secretary of State, John Kerry, and his counterpart, Salman Khurshid, presenting India. Discussing the regional strategic connotations, the dialogue focused on cooperating in Indian and Pacific Ocean regions, which was seen as converging India's "Look East" policy and the US's "Asia-Pacific Strategy". The regional strategic consultation also included cooperation in Afghanistan; both countries reiterated their commitments to support the transition process in Afghanistan, especially in building up the defense capabilities of the Afghan national security forces. It is notable here that Pakistan has always been skeptical about India's increasing role in Afghan affairs and considers it an instability catalyst for regional peace and security. In discussions on security and strategic cooperation, the parties welcomed the defense trade reaching $9 billion and explored opportunities for technological cooperation including defense co-development and co-production. The dialogue also included the US's reiteration of support for India for full membership in the NSG, the MTCR, the Wassenaar Arrangement, and the Australia Group. Other issues of interest included counter-terrorism, partnership in commerce, education, energy, and cooperation on various global issues.

The fifth strategic dialogue in the series, was conducted in New Delhi on July 31, 2014, between the US's Secretary of State, John Kerry, and the Indian foreign minister, Sushma Swaraj. The dialogue started with positive expectations of further rapprochement in India–US relations with the newly

elected government in India. Discussion included issues related to commerce, combating terrorism, non-proliferation, cyber-security, nuclear cooperation, defense cooperation, and extradition. The meeting welcomed the to-date developments in India–US cooperation in various areas and reaffirmed their commitments to enhancing bilateral cooperation in the forthcoming summit meetings. The US delegation reiterated its commitment to supporting India's full membership in prominent non-proliferation regimes. Another reiteration of commitment for full implementation of the nuclear deal was pledged as usual. The delegations projected the India–US Strategic Partnership as a truly significant element, not only for regional peace and stability but also for global peace.

On the India–US role in various parts of the world, the meeting discussed UN reforms introducing India as one of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, engagement in Afghanistan, and promotion of stability in Iraq, Gaza and Israel as well as in the Middle East, South Asian region, Asia and globally. In short, the fifth dialogue was conducted in a traditional manner that focused on reiterations rather than introducing any breakthrough. The dialogue focused mainly on prospects for bilateral economic cooperation including commerce and investment. Most of the issues discussed related to non-traditional security cooperation (Joint Statement on the Fifth India–US Strategic Dialogue 2014).

After five rounds of dialogues, during President Obama's visit to India in 2015, leaders of the two states elevated the US–India strategic dialogue and converted it into the Strategic and Commercial Dialogue, reflecting the US and India's shared priorities of generating economic growth, creating jobs, improving the investment climate, and strengthening the middle class in both countries (US Department of State 2015). The inaugural meeting of the Strategic and Commercial Dialogue was held in the US in September 2015, and also ended with traditional commitments about enhancing the strategic partnership between the two countries and further strengthening bilateral cooperation.

Joint Strategic Vision (JSV) 2015

Following President Obama's visit to India in January 2015, Washington and New Delhi declared the India–US Joint Strategic Vision for the Asia-Pacific and Indian Ocean region. On January 25, 2015, President Obama and India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi shared their views for peace, stability, and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region (Pakistan Sneaks into US–India Strategic Vision 2015). Both the leaders affirmed their agreement that "a closer partnership between the United States and India is indispensable to promoting peace, prosperity, and stability in Asia-Pacific and the Indian Ocean regions" (Joint Statement President Obama and Prime Minister Modi 2015). While analyzing the declared JSV of 2015, Baruah writes:

> The vision underpins the importance of economic integration and connectivity for regional security.… Without naming China, the document

> underlines the issue of unilateral and assertive behavior in the South China Sea affecting regional peace and security.… One of the key points in the document is that both India and the US now understand the need for multilateral partnerships furthering the need for collective security in Indo-Pacific.
>
> (Baruah 2015)

The 2 + 2 Dialogue

After five rounds of the strategic dialogues during the Obama regime, both India and the US showed their resolve on an extended version of the bilateral dialogue process, which is known as the 2 + 2 Dialogue. This version includes foreign affairs officials as well as defense affairs officials from the two states. The aim is to advance bilateral cooperation in strategic and security affairs through diplomatic and fruitful conversation. The proposal of the 2 + 2 Dialogue was set by India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi and the US's President Donald Trump in June 2017 in Washington, DC (Ayres 2018). After postponing and rescheduling twice, the first dialogue was held in New Delhi on September 6, 2018. Sushma Swaraj and Nirmala Sitharaman represented Indian external affairs and Indian defense affairs ministries respectively, while Michael R. Pompeo and James N. Mattis represented the US as counterparts to the respective departments. The bilateral dialogue between the representatives from both sides reaffirmed their commitments to expand the scope of bilateral defense cooperation under the ambit of India's designation as a "major defense partner". They appreciated the bilateral defense trade and cooperation in various areas of mutual interests in preceding years and pledged to further promote these ties. They welcomed India's inclusion in Strategic Trade Authorization and committed to exploring ways and means to promote two-way defense trade and manufacturing. The landmark development that took place during this visit was the signing of the Communication Compatibility and Security Agreement, which opened access for India to US-originated advanced defense systems. They also affirmed their commitment to the creation of new mechanisms to promote military-to-military cooperation as well as maritime cooperation in the Indian Ocean. Ministers from both sides recognized the importance of defense technology in the bilateral relationship and vowed to prefer co-development and co-production of defense-related products under the Defense Technology and Trade Initiative.

Apart from commitments to cooperation in various areas related to defense and security, the representatives from both states agreed to cooperate with each other at various international forums such as the UN and the Financial Action Task Force. One of the alarming developments for Pakistan was the US's support for India regarding allegations related to terrorism. Both India and the US voiced their concerns about terrorism and called on Pakistan to take action against the terrorists in Pakistan who launched attacks inside India, as per Indian claims. The two states also agreed to cooperate and support each other in

regional strategic affairs including Afghanistan and the Indo-Pacific region. The US again reaffirmed its support for India to obtain membership in the NSG and welcomed India's accession to MTCR, the Wassenaar Arrangement, and the Australia Group. Both the states reaffirmed their commitment to fully implement the Civil Nuclear Cooperation agreement through the establishment of various nuclear energy power plants. According to the joint statement, "The Ministers recognized the importance and the potential for increasing bilateral trade, investment, innovation, and job creation in both countries … including the free flow of ideas and collaboration in health, space, oceans, and other areas of science and technology" (US Department of State 2018).

Concluding the historical analysis of India–US relations, we can summarize that they have seen many and serious ups and downs. The emergence of India–US relations during the Cold War was one of the significant reasons for cool relations between the two states. The factors that kept the states estranged from one other were mostly the creation of the US's Cold War priorities, which did not match with the interests and policies of India. With the end of the Cold War, the reasons for estrangement vanished and, in a very short time, the relations between the two countries strengthened to the extent of strategic partnership. Dynamic change in India–US relations began with the six-day visit of President Clinton to India at the end of twentieth century, and was further accelerated by President Bush's visit in 2001. The visits of the two US presidents to India within a very short time also indicated the emerging significance of India in US foreign policy circles. Though the US adopted Pakistan as a "non-NATO ally" in the war against terror, India's offer to provide unconditional support to the US paved the way for the development of cordial relations between the two countries. In the meantime, pro-US sentiments were also spreading in India. India always expressed its pledge to fight with and support the US against militant Islam. On the other side, the US administration also viewed India as the nation that could best serve US interests, if India joined international efforts toward non-proliferation. Moreover, many observers and analysts in the US began to promote thinking about India as a counterweight against rising China. Therefore, the US vowed to assist India in becoming a major power in the world. Though the India–US Strategic Partnership is perceived to serve US interests in future while keeping in view the history of Indian foreign policy, it is more likely that India will not fulfill US expectations while putting its own interests at stake.

4 The strategic partnership and nuclear cooperation

The strategic partnership

Explaining the underlying US interests in promoting India, Rollie Lal from RAND Corporation stated: "A more secure India will mean a more stable partner for the US in South Asia, a less dangerous Asian dynamic, and a more attractive destination for US investment in the future" (Lal 2003, 7). The beginning of the twenty-first century marked an important development in India–US relations where the two states had committed to cooperate with each other in almost every sector of mutual interest. The India–US Strategic Partnership had been termed "irreversible" (Blank 2005, 1). None of the US presidents visited India for 22 years between Jimmy Carter's visit in 1978 and Clinton's visit in 2000, a long period in which two important states that have no basic conflict neglected to improve their relations. Clinton's visit proved to be a landmark in the enhancement of bilateral relations between the two states, which laid down the foundation stone for developing mutual cooperation. Mohan and Khanna noted that "the Cabinet-level exchanges have since become a routine" (Mohan and Khanna 2006).

The inception of cordial relations by the Clinton administration was further continued by the Bush administration without any break when President Bush himself paid a visit to India in March 2006 and signed a remarkable strategic partnership with India which included the most significant civilian nuclear cooperation commitment to date. This visit reflected an agenda that has come to encompass shared global interests and concerns ranging from Iran and China to nuclear cooperation and biotechnology (Mohan and Khanna 2006). Henry Kissinger said on India–US relations during an interview:

> Bush won the election so he is not obliged to change his policy. The second term will, I think, be devoted to actual construction … and to begin work on an international order that gives other countries a sense of participation, and in that we look to India as a special partner.
>
> (Kissinger 2006)

During the Indian prime minister's visit to the US on July 18, 2005, the leaders of both states announced a significant proposal of nuclear cooperation

for civil purposes. President Bush assured India that he would work to relax nuclear trade between the two states if a distinction was drawn between the military and civilian aspects of India's nuclear complex (Boese 2006), while India agreed to do so and place many but not all of its reactors under safeguards (India 2006). During his state visit to India on March 2, 2006, President Bush declared his intention to conclude a nuclear cooperation agreement with India and called it a "necessary nuclear power agreement" (Newswire 2006). India declared its separation plan in March 2006 creating a distinction between civilian and military nuclear installations which classified "14 of 22 existing and under construction power reactors as a civilian" (Boese 2006).

The separation plan was presented for the first time before the Indian Parliament on March 7, 2006, by India's Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. It was again tabled before Parliament on May 11, 2006, with complete details of the plan including the schedule of its implementation from 2007 (Mukherjee 2006). Prime Minister Manmohan Singh gave a detailed presentation to the Parliament that described the Indian perspective regarding nuclear cooperation and its transparent implementation. He also gave assurances that the deal was consistent with India's national security imperatives and it would not affect the research and development programs of the country. Chari writes:

> Prime Minister clarified that the civilian facilities identified for being safeguarded, will no longer be engaged in activities of strategic significance; this will not impact adversely on India's national security, and such facilities will not be located within a "larger hub" of strategic significance.
>
> (Chari 2006a, 1)

In order to comply with the Civilian Nuclear Cooperation Agreement that was announced during President Bush's state visit to India on March 3, 2006, legislation was passed by the US House of Representatives on July 26, 2006, under Act No. H.R. 5682, titled Henry J. Hyde United States–India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act of 2006, providing discriminatory waivers to India from instrumental clauses of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, which weakened US non-proliferation laws (House of Representatives 2006). The said legislation was passed by 359 votes in favor and only 68 votes against the deal. The act was passed by the US Senate on November 16, 2006, and signed by President George W. Bush on December 18, 2006. This legislation removed the domestic US non-proliferation obligations regarding civilian nuclear cooperation with India. None of the Republican representatives dissented from the legislation, which was dubbed "the President's most important strategic diplomatic initiative" by Richard Lugar, the Chairman of Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (Boese 2006). In spite of approval with an absolute majority, the senators reaffirmed during the debate that "an Indian nuclear test or transfer of civilian nuclear imports to its military sector would be a clear breach of the US–Indian pact resulting in its termination" (Boese 2006). Lugar said that "in the event of a test, the United States shall have the right to request the return of supplies" (Boese 2006).

However, the discussion on the bill was less a discussion about the importance of nuclear cooperation than a debate about forging closer ties with India as the future Asian power. During the debate, Senator George Voinovich said that India could serve as a counterweight to China: "As China expands its economic power and military strength, US nuclear cooperation with India can help to even the international keel" (Boese 2006). The proponents of the deal argued that it would empower India with environmentally friendly energy which would enhance Indian economic growth and be profitable to the US industry. It was also argued that "the implementation of Bush's initiative would give India a greater stake in global efforts to curb the spread of nuclear weapons" (Carter 2006, 3, 7).

The approval of the act by US Congress exempted India from those US legislations which were enacted as a reaction to the 1974 nuclear tests by India using the Canadian reactors and US-origin heavy water, which were obtained for civilian purposes. The earlier legislation had abandoned all kinds of nuclear trade with South Asian countries three decades previously (Boese 2006). Though the US had always tried to portray its firm stand against the recognition of India as a nuclear weapon state (NWS), it could not maintain this for long and ultimately granted India a tacit but de facto recognition as a nuclear state in the summer of 2005. The US made India equivalent to the five major powers of the world: China, France, Russia, the US, and the United Kingdom (Carter 2006, 3, 7). President Bush's visit to India was similar to that of President Richard Nixon's to China in 1972, which played a significant role, as Mohan and Khanna observe, "in re-shaping US–China relations and the global balance of power for the next three decades" (Mohan and Khanna 2006). Ashton Carter writes that:

> both overtures were bold moves based on a firm foundation of mutual interest and that both were leaps of trust rather than shrewd bargains. But there are sobering differences between the two fledgling partnerships. Nixon and Mao Zedong shared a clear and present enemy—the Soviet Union—not an uncertain set of possible future dangers, as do Bush and Singh now.
>
> (Carter 2006, 7–8)

After facing a lot of hurdles and surviving a "no confidence move" at home, the Indian prime minister succeeded in gaining support in favor of the deal. India then moved to seek the India-Specific Safeguards Agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), which was approved unanimously by the board of governors of the IAEA on August 1, 2008. The successful conclusion of an agreement with the IAEA encouraged India to proceed to seek approval of "India-specific waivers" from the Nuclear Supplier Group (NSG). After a slight hesitation by some members, the NSG gave the nod to the India-specific waivers during a meeting on September 4–6, 2008 (Chronology of Indo-US Deal 2008). The completion of other supplementary requirements led President Bush to forward the nuclear cooperation agreement to Congress for final approval. After some nominal controversies over the nuclear fuel supply assurances, The House of Representatives passed the "123

Agreement" with a majority vote of 298 against 117 on September 27, 2008. The bill got its approval from the US Senate on October 1, 2008, with 86 votes in favor. The nuclear deal came into law with the final signature of President Bush on October 8, 2008 (Chronology of Indo-US Deal 2008).

Nuclear cooperation

Though India's interest in nuclear capabilities pre-dates independence, the US–India nuclear cooperation commenced only in the 1950s as an outgrowth of President Eisenhower's "Atoms for Peace Initiative", which promised US assistance to peaceful nuclear programs (Limaye 1993, 5–8). Volha Charnysh writes:

> India's nuclear program, started at the Bhabha Atomic Research Center in Trombay, was based on the country's abundant natural thorium reserves. Its foundation was laid by the US Atoms for Peace program, which aimed to encourage the civil use of nuclear technologies in exchange for assurances that they would not be used for military purposes.
>
> (Charnysh 2009)

According to Sharon Squassoni, "the United States actively promoted nuclear energy cooperation with India from the mid-1950s by building a nuclear reactor at Tarapur" (Squassoni 2005, 1). The two countries concluded, in 1956, an agreement for the sale of heavy water to operate the Canada India Reactor Utility Services (CIRUS) (Limaye 1993, 5–8). The first agreement for cooperation concerning civil uses of atomic energy was signed between the two states in 1963 with respect to the construction and operation of the civil atomic power station near Tarapur in Maharashtra State (International Atomic Energy Agency 1971, 1).

Differences on broader nuclear issues, which themselves reflected more fundamental divergences between the two countries, soon impinged upon and imperiled even that cooperation. Regarding the US non-proliferation concerns and the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT), Satu P. Limaye writes in his book:

> Although India was active in negotiations of the 1968 Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), India refused to join the NPT on grounds that it was discriminatory.… Despite the unbridgeable differences on NPT, however, bilateral US–Indian nuclear cooperation continued amicably in the 1970s. The Tarapur plant was constructed and became operational in 1969. In 1971, in accordance with the provisions of the 1963 agreement, a trilateral agreement among United States, India and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was signed to activate implementation of safeguards for Tarapur, but not for the US heavy water at the CIRUS reactor.
>
> (Limaye 1993, 5–8)

The Indian nuclear test in 1974 shocked the US because of its non-proliferation concerns that nuclear technology gained for peaceful purposes was being used for developing nuclear weapons. The act of deception by India invoked the passing of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act (NNPA) of 1978 by Congress. The act imposed tough conditions on US nuclear exports to non-nuclear weapon states (NNWS). Through the NNPA of 1978, the US sought to apply conditions of the NPT (that were rejected by India) to the previous agreement of 1963 regarding the Tarapur reactor. Robert F. Goheen, the then US ambassador in New Delhi, explained the legislation's impact on the bilateral nuclear relationship succinctly:

> [T]wo of the restrictions imposed by the NNPA had a direct bearing on American nuclear supplies to India: a non-nuclear weapon state must agree (a) to accept IAEA safeguards on all nuclear facilities and (b) not to manufacture or acquire any nuclear explosive devices.
>
> (Limaye 1993)

Regarding implementation of NNPA, the US ambassador explained that "the legislation is both retroactive and unilateral, and where existing bilateral agreements and supply contracts do not meet these requirements, they have to be renegotiated accordingly or terminated" (Limaye 1993). The US's non-proliferation concerns at the international level led it to create a Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) in 1975 to control nuclear exports. The NSG published its guidelines in 1978, which were applied to all kinds of nuclear transfers including peaceful cooperation. These guidelines were meant to ensure the non-diversion of nuclear technology provided for peaceful purposes toward nuclear weapon development programs (Squassoni 2005). US conditions about nuclear exports to NNWS, even with full-scale safeguards, proved to be very problematic for fuel supplies to India, even at its safeguarded reactors at Tarapur. The US was supplying fuel to India when the NNPA was enacted. According to Congressional Research Service report on India–US nuclear cooperation, "[T]he Carter Administration exported two more shipments under an executive order, despite the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's (NRC) refusal to approve an export license (on nonproliferation conditions)" (Squassoni 2005, 1).

By 1978, the two-track approach to bilateral nuclear dealings had been abandoned due to the US's attempt to impose non-proliferation goals on the agreement for cooperation with India. Under Ronald Reagan's administration, the "single track" approach of the post-1978 period was abandoned, albeit by way of ending bilateral cooperation on Tarapur. This did not mean that nuclear cooperation was entirely halted; even with the limits visible on the manifestations, motivations, and manners of the accommodation, a significant and positive shift took place in India–US nuclear relations. Indeed, it appears that the US, later in the decade, tried to rebuild some ties in the nuclear field albeit within very narrow margins, i.e., it proposed cooperation in three non-sensitive

areas: radiation technology for the improvement of public health; Synchron light source; and sewage treatment by gamma rays. Academic cooperation, inviting Indian engineers to US institutions and sending US scientists to India to deliver lectures, also kept the cooperation going (Limaye 1993, 5–8). As the Tarapur bilateral cooperation was terminated, the problem of fuel supply was solved by French cooperation. France fulfilled India's fuel supply demand for the Tarapur reactor under the same conditions that were settled in India's agreement with the US for fuel supply. France provided fuel until it adopted a full-scope safeguard policy. Due to the adoption of a full-scale safeguards policy by the NSG in 1992, China picked up the slack. Fuel was also provided by Russia from 2001 to 2004 (Squassoni 2005, 1).

The 123 Agreement: an analysis

Section 123 of the US Atomic Energy Act of 1954 deals with the rules relating to US nuclear energy cooperation with other nations. Therefore, the India–US nuclear cooperation agreement is termed "The 123 Agreement". Though the draft nuclear agreement was devised with the desire to establish a legal framework to pursue nuclear cooperation, it contained certain clauses which do not conform to international norms regarding non-proliferation; thus, it also appears as a sign of the US's discriminatory attitude. The scope of the agreement is too wide such that it creates too many opportunities to India for the advancement of its nuclear program. According to Article 2 of the agreement, the said nuclear cooperation encompasses cooperation in "advanced nuclear energy research, nuclear safety matters, and exchange of scientists for visits, full civil nuclear cooperation including technology transfer, development of a strategic reserve of nuclear fuel, and advanced research and development in nuclear sciences" (Text of 123 Agreement 2007). The agreement affords complete autonomy over the nuclear-related development for each party apart from the agreement for their own purposes.

Article 3 of the agreement imparts to India the facility to gather the information and transfer the technology that had been banned for several decades, granting India access to advanced US technologies in all respects. The agreement provides for "information concerning the use and transfer of nuclear energy, research, development, design, construction, operation, maintenance and use of reactors, reactor experiments, and decommissioning"; it also gives access to international developments like "research on multilateral projects such as the International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor (ITER) and [provides] training to the personnel from each side" (Text of 123 Agreement 2007). However, it also lends the opportunity for manipulation by each party under the pretext of national laws and restricted data because each party is given full freedom in determining the nature of the data under Clause 4 of Article 3 (Text of 123 Agreement 2007).

The most important assurance is given under Articles 4, 5, and 14 of the agreement, which provide facilitation regarding nuclear trade and, significantly,

the assurance of fuel supplies for uninterrupted operation of nuclear facilities. Under Article 5, the agreement affords freedom for transfer of the nuclear materials and equipment to each side. It also provides access to the "dual-use items that could be used in enrichment, reprocessing or heavy water production facilities" (Text of 123 Agreement 2007). The significant opportunity for India given in this agreement is access to foreign uranium for use in nuclear reactors. Pakistan has shown great concerns regarding this facility and believes that it will enable India to fix all indigenous uranium resources for military purposes and, therefore, will contribute to enhancing the capacity of the Indian nuclear arsenal. Though Article 9 tries to ensure the peaceful use of nuclear technology transferred under the agreement, it fails to get any reasonable assurance from either side against its violation.

The US is fulfilling its promise to assist India with an assured fuel supply for its reactors through providing access to international markets by adjusting US domestic laws as well as the NSG's practices. The US also helped India in managing the India-specific safeguards agreement with the IAEA and agreed to support India in developing strategic reserves of nuclear fuel (Text of 123 Agreement 2007). Even if the agreement is terminated, the assurance given in Article 14 regarding the fuel supply mentions providing special consideration to the uninterrupted operations of nuclear reactors for the purpose of energy security (Text of 123 Agreement 2007).

The India-specific IAEA safeguards are said to be implemented under Article 10 of the agreement, but the discriminatory nature of the IAEA–India agreement for the India-specific special arrangement itself brings into question the effectiveness of IAEA safeguards. The importance of IAEA safeguards is further degraded under paragraph 4 of Article 10, which mentions the bilateral verification arrangements in case of IAEA refusal to apply safeguards (Text of 123 Agreement 2007).This means that the IAEA will not be in a position to affect nuclear cooperation. In other words, the India-specific IAEA safeguards are designed only to get so-called legitimacy for the cooperation.

Another important relaxation is granted to India under Article 14 of the agreement regarding termination of the agreement in the name of a changed security environment and national security (Text of 123 Agreement 2007). It is an international political fashion that when states commit wrongs they try to legitimize their acts through the pretext of national security concerns. Since there is no obligation in the agreement regarding a moratorium on nuclear explosions, India will continue to develop the quality and quantity of its nuclear arsenal along with enjoying international cooperation on its nuclear programs.

US objectives

The US's objectives in the India–US deal can be well understood with analysis by Ashton B. Carter: it provides some of the key objectives of the US in the deal but it does not cover the whole issue. He writes that the India deal looks much more favorable to the US:

> Washington gave something away on the nuclear front in order to gain much more on other fronts; it hoped to win the support and cooperation of India, a strategically located democratic country of growing economic importance, to help the United States confront the challenges that a threatening Iran, a turbulent Pakistan, and an unpredictable China may pose in the future. [Therefore,] Washington's decision to trade a nuclear-recognition quid for a strategic-partnership quo was a reasonable move.
>
> (Carter 2006, 1–2)

A counterweight against China and Pakistan

China has been a major source of concern for both India and the US for decades. Each state has its own controversies with China; therefore, the strategy of having a friendship with the enemy of one's own enemy has brought India and the US together. US policymakers have always been concerned with the growing economic, military, and political might of China against US interests. Therefore, in order to counter any threat from China in the future, the US wants to obtain leverage in dealing with it. This leverage might be obtained through friendship with India according to US calculations because of India's animosity with China. In this context, after neglecting India for many decades, now, the US wants to develop Indian might to the extent that it could offset Chinese power and prevent its hegemony. Answering a question about the reasons for the current US engagement with India in an interview with the author, Lora Saalman (an expert on nuclear policy at Carnegie, placed in China) said, "India is seen as being a democratic force to be reckoned with in Asia. Its size and growth prospects make it a sizable figure of counterbalancing when facing China's rise" (Saalman 2011). Saalman also discussed the practical outcomes and stated that "India has made it clear that it does not want to be used as a counterweight against China … many of the original reasons underpinning U.S. engagement of India has not necessarily come to fruition" (Saalman 2011).

General Durrani, ex-Director General of Inter-Services Intelligence Pakistan, is of the view that "India will not do America's bidding. It has a 60 billion trade with China and otherwise too it does not want to be seen against a regional superpower" (Durrani, 2011). Though the US is developing Indian capabilities to counter China, it is not sure that India will stand together with the US in any event of the latter's conflict with China. The history of fiercely independent Indian foreign policy suggests that India will never accept US dictations and will follow the policy of its own choice. For many observers:

> [I]t appears unlikely that India will be willing to play a role of "balancer" against China except on New Delhi's own terms and not those imposed from abroad; in this view, New Delhi tends to see Beijing more as an opportunity than as a problem.
>
> (Kronstadt 2005)

Discussing the China factor in India–US engagement, Onkar Marwah said:

> The current increased positive strategic interaction between the US and India is predicated primarily—but not only—as a hedge against the rise of China, which is becoming more and more assertive in respect to practically every country around its boundaries (as well as globally) … India will keep its options open and look for normal relations with China—as well other states, e.g. Russia, EU, Japan, etc.
>
> (Marwah 2011)

In contrast to US expectations, after decades of animosity, now both China and India are trying to reduce distrust between them by settling border disputes and increasing trade. The growing economies of both countries have compelled them to reduce tensions and move forward toward economic collaboration rather than pursuing military conflict. Rollie Lal suggests that "while the probability of military conflict is increasingly low, bilateral economic competition could be the source of possible friction in the relationship" (Lal 2003, 7). Moreover, an open US effort to develop its relations with India to counter China provokes Chinese strategists to develop cordial relations with India. If China succeeds in settling its disputes and developing good relations with India, it will counter the US strategy to use India against it:

> A closer relationship with India is beneficial to China in that it precludes the US from being able to co-opt India into a containment strategy, whereas the existence of tensions between China and India would provide an ideal opportunity for both the US and India to work together in containment.
>
> (Lal 2003, 7)

An analysis of India–China–US relations by Ashton Carter suggests that no one wants to have a strategic contest, but the possibility of such a contest cannot be ruled out because each country has some core issues which could antagonize their relationships at any moment. Because of their economic interdependence, none of them can afford hostile relationships; rather, they always have intentions to develop a hedge against any deteriorated relationship with each other (Carter 2006, 3, 7). President Bush's 2002 National Security Strategy stated that "US interests require a strong relationship with India" (National Security Strategy 2002) and a National Intelligence Council projection said, "the likely rise of China and India will transform the geopolitical landscape in dramatic fashion" (Mapping the Global Future 2002). The non-governmental proponents of closer India–US security cooperation often refer to China as the major reason for the US's support to India. In a Congressional research service report, Kronstadt refers to:

> The rise of China and its potential disturbance of Asian stability as a key reason to hedge by bolstering US links with India; while the Bush

> Administration has sought to downplay this probable motivator, Pentagon officials reportedly assert that India is likely to purchase up to $5 billion worth of conventional weapons from the United States, including platforms that could be useful for monitoring the Chinese military.
>
> (Kronstadt 2005)

According to a defense review report by the US Department of Defense, "China has the greatest potential to compete militarily with the United States and field disruptive military technologies that could over time offset traditional US military advantages absent US counter-strategies" (Quadrennial Defense Review Report 2006). China is continuously refining its strategic arsenal and military capabilities: "Since 1996, China has increased its defense spending by more than 10% in real terms in every year except 2003" (Quadrennial Defense Review Report 2006). The report asserts:

> China is likely to continue making large investments in high-end, asymmetric military capabilities, emphasizing electronic and cyber-warfare; counter-space operations; ballistic and cruise missiles; advanced integrated air defense systems; next-generation torpedoes; advanced submarines; strategic nuclear strike from modern sophisticated land and sea-based systems; and theater unmanned aerial vehicles for employment by the Chinese military and for global export.
>
> (Quadrennial Defense Review Report 2006)

As China poses a greater threat to the US, the US needs a comparatively reliable partner in South Asia, to counter the upcoming threat, as a precautionary measure. Regarding threat from China and Pakistan, David Frum says:

> [O]f course, aiding India's civilian nuclear program will also strengthen India's nuclear weapons capability; that shouldn't be seen as an unwanted side effect, but as a step toward a third practical achievement: punishing the world's two worst nuclear proliferators, China and Pakistan.
>
> (Frum 2006)

Along with China, Pakistan, too, is expected as one of the prominent threats to the US in the near future. Discussing the reasons for India–US ties, Ashley Tellis writes:

> [T]he desire of both New Delhi and Washington to forge a new partnership grounded in democratic values but ultimately oriented toward promoting geopolitical equilibrium in Asia in the face of rising challengers such as China and problem states such as Pakistan.
>
> (Tellis 2006a, 116)

David Frum's analysis suggests that US policy analysts believe Pakistan has the potential to create different dangerous contingencies especially in terms of

nuclear terrorism. They believe that whatever the truth may be about the A.Q. Khan Network, it is worrisome to the extent that terrorists could steal or even buy essential material for making nuclear explosive devices. Moreover, Pakistan's own stock of nuclear weapons is as dangerous as that of Russia in the context of nuclear terrorism. In this regard, if any incident takes place from Pakistan, the US would like to respond quickly with as much support as possible from the international community, and India can assist the US in a particular way because it is an immediate neighbor to Pakistan (Frum 2006).

It is very clear now that the second-largest major power in the twenty-first century will be China, which is known as undemocratic and as an unbearable, disturbing regime, for the US in future international politics. Moreover, the US's Western allies, as well as Japan, are losing their strength to cope with the upcoming threats from China. According to some reliable estimates, "Europe's share of global economic output will drop by half between 2000 and 2025; Japan holds the ominous status of the world's fastest-aging major economy" (Frum 2006). In the face of such dangers from China, the US, and its allies, both in Asia and Europe, will need a more profound and reliable partner to balance against China. Among all of the potential emerging states, India is the best choice for the US to counter China because of its rivalry with China as well as its strategic position in the region. Therefore, US intentions to bring India into the rank of Western countries is part of a well-planned future US foreign policy.

According to an estimate of the CIA's National Intelligence Council about the future international scenario, "By 2020 India's GNP [gross national product] will have overtaken or will be on the threshold of overtaking European economies, potentially making it the world's third-largest economy" (Mohan and Khanna 2006). The report concludes:

> Barring an abrupt reversal of the process of globalization or any major upheavals, the rise of these new powers [China and India] is a virtual certainty. Yet how China and India exercise their growing power and whether they relate cooperatively or competitively to other powers in the international system are key uncertainties.
>
> (Mohan and Khanna 2006)

George Perkovich thinks the new US strategy is based on these fundamental premises:

- To dissuade or prevent China from competing harmfully with it, the United States must mobilize states on China's periphery to balance Chinese power.
- India is a rising power with great intrinsic merits, including its attachment to democracy, and is a natural partner with the United States in the global system. The United States should cultivate a partnership with India and enhance India's international power. A more powerful and collegial India will balance China's power in Asia.

- To win over India, the United States should change national and international laws and rules that bar technology cooperation with India due to India's nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs. Changing these rules is necessary to cement the partnership, and such changes will also help India bolster its strategic capabilities, including nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles, which will further balance China's strategic power.

(Perkovich 2005, 1–2)

Regional hegemony

It is the basic instinct of major powers that they always seek to prolong and maintain their hegemony. Just like all other major powers in history, the US, too, will like to maintain its hegemony in the world for as long as possible. Although the US is still the only superpower in the world there are some states who could potentially challenge US dominance in the future. In this scenario, Gregory J. Dyekman writes, "Prudence suggests the United States seek friends and allies among these emerging powers and within regions they may seek to dominate" (Dyekman 2007, 9). In order to maintain dominance in the foreseeable future, the US will need allies to counter those emerging states which may challenge its hegemony in the world. To cope with threats to US dominance, India is the best choice, especially in Asia where India can counter China as an emerging major power of the world in future. Discussing the possible emergence of a multi-polar system in East Eurasia, Dale Walton has deliberated on the possibility of a great-power axis as a nightmare. He argues that "though China alone cannot emerge as a potent hegemon, however, this very muscular state could serve as a senior partner in an alliance with one or more other great powers" (Walton 2007). He describes Russia as a potential junior partner because of its efforts to maintain its great-power status while having a declining economy and its heavy military-industrial complex with reduced arms sales abroad, while China is a potential customer in this regard and the China–Russia partnership laid out in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization can provide ample opportunities for the development of a great-powers axis (Walton 2007).

Discussing the dangers of such an alliance, Walton suggests that "acting as a senior partner in a great-power alliance surely would reinforce Beijing's worst instincts" (Walton 2007). Regarding the implications of such an axis, Walton highlights a very dangerous implication that "the junior partners in such an alliance might prove to be even more dangerous, acting recklessly while hoping that their puissant ally could shield them from the possible negative consequences of their actions" (Walton 2007). Walton's idea of a great-powers axis is a tangible one because of China's rapprochement policy toward Russia as well as toward India. The growing economic relations of China with both countries may convert into a strategic alliance among the three potential states in Asia that could be a great threat to US interests in the region. Therefore, it may also be

surmised that the US pre-empted the creation of such an alliance by engaging India through the strategic partnership such that it can be used as a junior partner in the region for maintaining US hegemony.

Marketplace for US exports

One of the major objectives of the US is to capture the Indian marketplace for US goods. Americans see India as a rapidly growing economy in the world with the second-largest populous: a huge number of consumers for US goods. President Bush said while signing the India–US Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act, on December 18, 2006: "The United States and India are also working together to expand economic opportunities in both countries. India's economy has more than doubled in size since 1991 and it is one of the fastest-growing markets for American exports" (US–India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act 2006). India is emerging as a great power and a key strategic partner for the US, which is evident by the declaration given by the US president and Indian prime minister on July 18, 2005. Both leaders declared their resolve:

> to transform the US–India relationship into a global partnership that will provide leadership in areas of mutual concern and interest. Shared values as long-standing, multi-ethnic democracies provide the foundation for continued and increased strategic cooperation and represent an important opportunity for the two countries".
>
> (Quadrennial Defense Review Report 2006, 29)

At the occasion of signing the US–India Peaceful Atomic Energy Act of 2006, the US president said:

> This cooperation will help the people of India produce more of their energy from clean, safe nuclear power, and that, in turn, will help their economy grow. And it's in our interest that the Indian economy continues to grow. It helps make America more secure.
>
> (Press Release 2006b)

He further insisted that:

> the bill will help promote economic growth. This bill helps open a new important market for American businesses by paving the way for investment in India's civilian nuclear industry for the first time ever. This new trade will help American companies gain new customers abroad, and create new jobs here at home.
>
> (Press Release 2006b)

Regarding US interest in finding a marketplace for US exports in India, it is expected that India will buy a scale of sophisticated weapon systems to enhance

its military capacity, for which the US can seek preferential treatment for US vendors. Discussing the economic factors of India–US relations, Lora Saalman told the author in an interview:

> At the economic level, removal of Indian entities from the Entity List in 2001, which has broadened in scope through present day, was in part initially motivated by the desire to penetrate India's markets and growing demands in a number of defense and other sectors. The 2005 announcement of intended U.S.-India nuclear cooperation was similarly initiated to breathe new life into the U.S. nuclear industry.
>
> (Saalman 2011)

The US wants to place its high-tech military technology products before India in competition with Israel, Russia, and other European states who are currently providing arms to India (Carter 2006, 3, 7). According to a report by the Congressional Research Service:

> New Delhi is undertaking a major military modernization program, potentially spending $100 billion over the next decade to update its mostly Soviet-era arsenal. U.S. weapons makers are eager to gain a slice of this lucrative pie, and American security companies also see in India a potentially also huge new market for sophisticated equipment such as surveillance and detection systems.
>
> (Kronstadt 2010, 54)

Bringing India under arms control regimes

The US president said during the signing ceremony of the US–India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act that:

> the bill will help keep America safe by paving the way for India to join the global effort to stop the spread of nuclear weapons … now, in return for access to American technology, India has agreed to open its civilian nuclear power program to international inspection.
>
> (Press Release 2006b)

Forming bilateral relations with a de facto nuclear state like India provided an opportunity to the Bush administration to score points for nuclear non-proliferation efforts by outlining a responsible nuclear behavior beyond NPT by a non-NPT state. Mohan and Khanna write:

> The Bush administration broke the mold by finding a nuclear modus vivendi with India. In return for full civilian nuclear cooperation from the United States India agreed to separate its civilian and military nuclear facilities, declare such facilities to the IAEA and put them under IAEA

> safeguards, uphold the moratorium on nuclear testing, accede to the Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT), refrain from the transfer of nuclear enrichment and reprocessing technologies, and comply with the guidelines of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) and Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG).
>
> (Mohan and Khanna 2006)

According to a fact sheet by the White House about the India–US Strategic Partnership, "both countries support efforts to limit the spread of enrichment and reprocessing technologies and also support the conclusion of a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty" (Fact Sheet: United States and India Strategic Partnership 2006).

In US policy circles, it is considered wise to bring India under US influence because of India's dependence on US technology in fulfilling its energy needs, which would be the backbone of the growing Indian economy. But in view of the history of an independent Indian foreign policy, some analysts believe that this will be a very difficult task because of India's maintenance of good relations with Iran, Russia, and China, along with the US (Kimball and Cirincione 2006). Another aim of the US is to win Indian acceptance to adhere to the MTCR (Speier 2006), which will limit the proliferation of delivery systems for nuclear weapons. Though MTCR is a non-treaty international organization, its guidelines are implemented through national legislation (Arms Control Association 2010). Discussing the efficacy of MTCR in the US, Ambassador Manuel Torre writes, "The United States, being the most ardent MTCR participant, backs the implementation of the MTCR by a sanction law" (Torre 2006).

India's adherence to the MTCR was certified by President Bush in Congress under the India–US deal and it has become mandatory for India to follow MTCR guidelines because of conditions laid down by the Henry J. Hyde Act of 2006. According to section 104 of the act, the president can grant waivers to India if he or she determines that India has adhered to the MTCR guidelines (Henry J. Hyde Act 2006). On the other hand, Richard Speier highlights some major flaws in the agreement with India. He points out that "it does nothing about India's long-range missile development" (Speier 2006), speaking about India's intercontinental ballistic missile program based on Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle technology. Speier also sees India's adherence to MTCR as an opportunity rather than a hurdle for India's missile development program because "US law largely exempts certain types of MTCR adherents from US missile proliferation sanctions" (Speier 2006). Although the US claim to limit India's missile development program through MTCR, this would be very difficult in reality in the absence of any legal agreement with India.

Indian support in the Iran nuclear crisis

One of the key objectives of the deal is the US's aims to achieve international support against one of its prominent rivals, Iran, and India is one of

the major and comparatively reliable states in the region. This most favorable US supporter could fall into the hands of Iran because of the negotiations on and construction of a US$8 billion natural gas pipeline from Iran via Pakistan that could become the backbone of the future energy needs of the ever-growing Indian economy. Such dependence of India on Iran, if materialized, could put India on Iran's side and put US interests at stake in the region. Therefore, by providing a substitute energy resource through a nuclear deal, the US seeks Indian support in its global coalition against Iran. Ashton B. Carter argues that,

> The real benefits of the India deal for Washington lie in the significant gains, especially in terms of security, that the broader strategic relationship could deliver down the road. For one thing, with New Delhi as an informal ally, Washington should expect to have India's help in curbing Iran's nuclear ambitions, even if India's assistance would risk compromising its friendly relations with Iran.
>
> (Carter 2006)

To some extent, the US has been successful in achieving its objectives in this regard. India has halted its negotiations on a gas pipeline agreement with Iran and Pakistan, and an important achievement is that, at a meeting of the IAEA's board of governors, India favored the US and its allies' view that Iran has violated NPT provisions and failed to fulfill its obligations; therefore, the matter could be referred to United Nation's Security Council. In May 2019, India completely stopped the import of Iranian oil in compliance with the US sanction against Iran (Business Standard 2019). Although, at the moment, India supports the US viewpoint against Iran due to the nuclear deal, the US should not take it for granted. Once the nuclear deal materializes, India may have a completely different stance after extracting its interests from the US.

Indian objectives

Th actions and reactions of the states have never been separate from their objectives. These objectives are mostly related to the national interests of the states, which are determined in accordance with their strategic environment. This environment influences a state's behavior and its various policies in relation to other states in the world. As far as India's strategic environment is concerned, it has seen a lot of change since the end of the Cold War. The change in the strategic environment has brought a great transformation in India's policies toward its relations with other states in the world. India's rapprochement toward the US is also based on India's strategic imperatives, which led it to adopt the policy of "poly-alignment" (Hedrick 2009, vi) in contrast with its decades-long policy of non-alignment. Concluding a strategic partnership with the US brought more benefits to India compared to those of the US. These benefits are discussed in the forthcoming paragraphs.

Removal of restrictions

The principal benefit that India has extracted from the US is the removal of the strict restriction on technological cooperation and trade with India. The US has committed to lifting a lot of significant restrictions that have been a great hurdle to technological cooperation between the two countries in the past. The prime minister of India said, in a discussion on civil nuclear energy cooperation with the US in the upper house of the Indian Parliament, Rajya Sabha:

> We are hopeful that this [cooperation] will lead in a direction wherein our interests are fully protected and that there is a complete lifting of restrictions on India that have existed for three decades. Such an outcome, if it materializes, will contribute to our long-term energy security by enabling a rapid increase in nuclear power. It would lead to the dismantling of the technology denial regimes that have hampered our development particularly in hi-tech sectors.
>
> (Manmohan Singh 2006)

The Indian prime minister further emphasized in the discussion that:

> the objective of full civil nuclear cooperation is enshrined in the July Statement; this objective can be realized when current restrictions on nuclear trade with India are fully lifted … US has initiated steps to amend its legislation and to approach the NSG to adapt its guidelines.
>
> (Manmohan Singh 2006)

He then went on to explain that "the central imperative in our discussions with the United States on Civil Nuclear Cooperation is to ensure the complete and irreversible removal of existing restrictions imposed on India through iniquitous restrictive trading regimes over the years" (Manmohan Singh 2006). He emphasized that "on July 29 last year, I had stated that before voluntarily placing our civil nuclear facilities under IAEA safeguards, we will ensure that all restrictions on India have been lifted" (Manmohan Singh 2006). Discussing the recent developments, Neena Shenai said that "in 1999, 24 percent of total U.S. exports to India required a 'dual-use' license from BIS [Bureau of Industry and Security]; today that number is less than 0.2 percent" (Shenai 2010). The removal of restrictions on trade in high-tech cooperation will not only enhance India's capacity to modernize its civilian-purpose technologies but also contribute to the sophistication of its military capacities.

Defense cooperation in advanced technology

The India–US Strategic Partnership has opened the previously closed doors of US defense cooperation with India. Now, India has a lot of opportunities to promote defense cooperation in advanced technology with the US, due to open

access in this field. Both India and the US are willing to promote cooperation in advanced defense equipment trade. The success of this cooperation resides in the US's willingness to transfer technology and co-production of equipment to India, which is almost demanded by India in all kinds of cooperation and trade with the US, unlike Pakistan. Due to larger stakes in the relationship with Pakistan, it seems to be very difficult for the US to offer such cooperation to India but the possibility of such cooperation with India can never be ruled out. An Indian analyst Raja Mohan says that "any attempt by Washington to limit high-technology defense cooperation with India citing Pakistani concerns would, however, limit Indo-US defense cooperation" (Mohan and Khanna 2006). He also emphasized that "the Indian defense industry is well-positioned to become an industrial partner of the US, though some political heavy lifting in both capitals is necessary" (Mohan and Khanna 2006).

Until the recent past, India has obtained a large number of sophisticated weapon systems from Russia, who has been the major source of defense supplies for India in the last five decades. But India has always been keen to obtain advanced technology weaponry from the US, which was contrary to India's defense relations with the former USSR. Thereafter, an agreement between the US and India, signed in January 2002, about the general security of military information lifted constraints on defense trade between the two countries. Under the General Security of Military Information Agreement, both parties are bound to ensure the non-transfer of classified military information to any third party. According to Sumit Ganguly and Andrew Scobell, "The absence of such an agreement had been a roadblock to Washington's approval of export licenses for US weapon systems desired by India" (Ganguly and Scobell 2005, 7). A press release by the White House depicts the prospects of India–US defense relations by stating that "the United States reaffirmed its goal to help meet India's defense needs and to provide the important technologies and capabilities that India seeks" (Fact Sheet: United States and India Strategic Partnership 2006).

According to a Congressional Research Service report, the Indian government has interest in purchasing a large number of weapon systems from the US, which include "P-3C Orion maritime patrol aircraft, PAC-3 anti-missile systems, electronic warfare systems, and possibly even F-16 fighters" (Kronstadt 2005). The US was also interested in the potential of a deal on the sale of a missile defense system to India, which was not welcomed by India. The Indian defense minister stated that "India has no intention of accepting a missile shield from anyone" (Kronstadt 2005). But India showed its interests in purchasing Arrow and Patriot anti-missile systems. In March 2005, the Bush administration indicated that "Washington is ready to discuss the sale of transformative systems in areas such as command and control, early warning, and missile defense" (Kronstadt 2005). The most important factor of this defense cooperation is that, unlike Pakistan, the Indian government has stressed its desire for the transfer of technology and co-production of the traded defense equipment on Indian soil. India has emphasized that defense cooperation should not be only a "buyer–seller" interaction (Kronstadt 2005).

Tacit recognition as nuclear weapon state

Though the nuclearization of South Asia in 1998 became the main source of concern for major powers in the world, they never accepted both India and Pakistan as NWSs. But a fanfare nuclear deal and a nuclear cooperation agreement have provided India a tacit recognition as a NWS. Now, as mentioned by George Perkovich, "much of the world sees the nuclear agreement as a celebration of India's status and value as a nuclear power" (Perkovich 2006, 3). Previously, the US labeled India's nuclear capability as illegitimate and always upheld a stance for the elimination of India's nuclear arsenal. But the US changed its stance in 2005 and finally accepted India as a nuclear-advanced country while acknowledging it as a de facto NWS. Emphasizing the significance of this tacit recognition, Ashton B Carter says: "In a stroke, Washington thereby invited India to join the ranks of China, France, Russia, the United States, and the United Kingdom, the victors of World War II, as a legitimate wielder of the influence that nuclear weapons confer" (Carter 2006). India gained implicit recognition as a NWS not only from the US but also from all NSG member states. Moreover, India will enjoy all the benefits that are given to NPT member states while not signing the NPT. The Indian prime minister said during a discussion in Rajya Sabha that "the July Statement had acknowledged that India should be regarded as a state with advanced nuclear technology enjoying the same advantages and benefits as other states with advanced nuclear technology, such as the US" (Manmohan Singh 2006). He Indian Prime Minister emphasized that:

> India would not attract full-scope safeguards such as those applied to Non-Nuclear Weapon States that are signatories to the NPT and there would be no curbs on continuation of India's nuclear weapon-related activities; in these important respects, India would be very much on par with the five Nuclear Weapon States who are signatories to the NPT.
>
> (Manmohan Singh 2006)

India has now become able to enjoy all benefits which are provided to NPT signatory states while keeping its traditional stance against NPT. Analyzing the implications of the India–US deal, Lora Saalman said: "the United States stopped just short of calling India a nuclear weapons state and yet it conferred upon India the same benefits as an NPT signatory" (Saalman 2005, 3). The deal will support India to promote nuclear cooperation with the US under IAEA safeguards while maintaining its nuclear weapon program, which is completely contradictory to the spirit of NPT. According to NPT rules, "only the five recognized nuclear weapons states (the United States, China, Russia, the UK, and France) are permitted to have nuclear weapons" (Sheridan 2006). The deal provides assistance to India for seeking such cooperation with other NPT states even though India has not signed the NPT. Carter points out:

> Even if the Bush administration had wished to make India a de jure nuclear weapons state under the NPT, such a change probably would not have been possible, as it would have required unanimous approval by all 188 parties to the treaty.
>
> (Carter 2006)

Discussing the discriminatory attitude of the US in cooperation with India, Michael Krepon writes:

> [T]he NPT wasn't designed to accommodate special cases like India; New Delhi has long desired to be an exception to these rules, and in the Bush administration, it has finally found a champion.… This nuclear initiative, which immediately became the centerpiece of the much-heralded state visit, was undertaken without consultation with Capitol Hill or with key NPT partners.
>
> (Krepon 2006, 1)

The Indian prime minister told the lower house of the Indian Parliament that "there is no question of India joining the NPT as a non-nuclear weapon state, or accepting full-scope safeguards as a requirement for nuclear supplies to India, now or in the future" (Manmohan Singh 2006). Describing the discriminatory privileges for India through the India–US deal, Carter points out:

> Washington has also undertaken to stop denying civil nuclear technology to India and has determined to require India to apply the safeguards of the IAEA only to nuclear facilities it designates as being for purely civil purposes; India is now also authorized to import uranium, the lack of which had long stalled the progress of its nuclear program.
>
> (Carter 2006)

Vague separation plan and exceptional deal with IAEA

Under NPT rules, each NWS is obligated to ensure the non-diversion of civilian nuclear technology to military purposes if it is going to cooperate with a NNWS. Therefore, it is mandatory for the US to ensure that its nuclear cooperation with India should ensure the non-diversion of technology produced for civil purposes to military purposes. Moreover, the NNPA of 1978, passed by US Congress, binds the US to implement full-scope safeguards on all kinds of nuclear material in the event of nuclear cooperation with an NNWS. Therefore, in order to get the approval of proposed nuclear cooperation with India, the Bush administration needed assurance from India that it would meet the above-mentioned requirements. These requirements were addressed through a separation plan that created a distinction between civilian and military nuclear facilities in India and that pledged to place civilian nuclear installations under

safeguards required by US laws. According to a press release by the White House:

> On March 2, 2006, President Bush expressed satisfaction over the progress made in advancing their strategic partnership; the leaders of both nations reviewed progress made since July 18, 2005, and welcomed the successful completion of discussions on India's separation plan.
>
> (Press Release 2006a)

The proposed separation plan appears to serve the legal requirements laid down by NPT as well as by US Congress about the assurance that nuclear cooperation does not serve India's nuclear weapon program. Sharon Squassoni holds that:

> the separation plan appears to serve two purposes: politically, it could help demonstrate India's commitment to nonproliferation, and legally, it must ensure US compliance with Article I of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) that US cooperation does not in any way assist a nuclear weapons program in a non-nuclear weapon state.
>
> (Squassoni 2006, 2)

According to the proposed separation plan, India has committed to placing its 14 reactors out of 22 under international safeguards, 65 percent of its nuclear installations. Squassoni points out that "a separation plan's credibility and defensibility rests not just on numbers of facilities, but also types of facilities because certain facilities and processes pose greater proliferation threats" (Squassoni 2006, 2). A qualitative analysis of the separation plan suggests that it has deceiving elements. It is vague in the sense that the suggested nuclear reactors, which are declared as civilian and military, are inter-related and interdependent upon each other. Each reactor plays a dual role, i.e., civilian and military, in the Indian nuclear development program, which is based on three stages of nuclear development. It is impossible to separate the production of these plants for civilian purposes or for military purposes. According to George Perkovich, "India's nuclear program, from its inception in 1948, has been described as inherently dual-purpose" (Perkovich 1999). Sharon Squassoni highlights the vagueness of separation plan:

> [A]lthough declaring 65% of India's reactors as civilian will result in placing almost two-thirds of the current reactors under safeguards, power reactors constitute just one part of the nuclear fuel cycle … Reprocessing capabilities are key to India's three-stage nuclear fuel cycle development plan, and the separation plan so far is silent on whether those would be safeguarded beyond the intermittent safeguards applied at the Power Reactor Fuel Reprocessing Plant (PREFRE).
>
> (Squassoni 2006, 2)

It is also notable that the non-proliferation concerns in the India–US deal depend on India's separation plan, regarding how India would distinguish its civilian nuclear installations from military ones.

The credibility of the proposed separation plan is vague; the current integrated position of Indian nuclear installations and their interdependence shows that it would be very difficult to separate them completely in accordance with the proposed separation plan. This vagueness and the freedom of choice in categorizing nuclear reactors as civilian or non-civilian provides India with the opportunity to misuse civil nuclear technology for military purposes. Answering a question about the role of the strategic partnership in contributing to India's nuclear development program, Lora Saalman answered:

> There are aspects of any form of dual-use cooperation that could potentially be transferred into weapons programs. This can either occur directly through the movement of experts from one division to another or technological advances that have natural affinities in other arenas.
>
> (Saalman 2011)

According to a report published in an Indian daily, *The Hindu*, "India will be under 'no compulsion' to separate its civil and nuclear facilities if it finds the process too complicated and expensive"; quoting the sources as official, *The Hindu* said, "We don't have to go ahead with this" (*Hindu* 2005). According to a news report in the *International Herald Tribune*, the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission of India, Anil Kakodkar, said, "India considers reprocessing of uranium and plutonium an extremely important part of full civil nuclear cooperation with the United States" (*International Herald Tribune* 2006). Fani suggests that:

> the differentiation among reactors geared to armed requirements and those destined for civilian purposes are very skinny. Any Indian administration can reroute products of civilian amenities to armed ones if and at what time it decides to carry out accordingly.
>
> (Fani 2007, 149)

Detailed analysis of the proposed nuclear separation plan suggests that it is contradictory in itself because of the interdependence of reactors declared separately as civilian and military. It is vague because, on one side, the Indian government claims not to disrupt its strategic program and, on the other side, it presents a separation plan that does not fulfill its strategic purposes. It is impossible to implement this separation plan while not disrupting strategic aims. According to Mian et al., "A significant proportion of India's nuclear complex would remain outside IAEA safeguards and continue to have a 'strategic' function" (Mian et al. 2006, 125). Discussing the provisions of a safeguard agreement with IAEA, the Indian prime minister, Manmohan Singh, said in Rajya Sabha:

> The Separation Plan provided for an India specific safeguards agreement with the IAEA with assurances of uninterrupted supply of fuel to reactors

> together with India's right to take corrective measures in the event fuel supplies are interrupted. We have made clear to the US that India's strategic program is totally outside the purview of the July Statement, and we oppose any legislative provisions that mandate scrutiny of either our nuclear weapons program or our unsafeguarded nuclear facilities.
>
> (Manmohan Singh 2006)

Prime Minister Singh emphasized that all arrangements made with the IAEA and the US will remain within the limits of parameters described in the separation plan and the July statement. He emphasized that India was not ready to accept any additional conditions imposed under any additional protocol of NPT. The prime minister, noticeably, asserted that "India will not accept any verification measures regarding the safeguarded nuclear facilities beyond those contained in an India-specific Safeguards Agreement with the IAEA; therefore, there is no question of allowing American inspectors to roam around Indian nuclear facilities" (Manmohan Singh 2006).

Energy security through assured fuel supply

According to India's statement at the meeting of IAEA's board of governors on August 1, 2008, an Indian representative presented India's viewpoint about nuclear energy with regard to India's growing energy needs:

> The generation of electricity, in fact, would need to grow at an annual rate of 8% to 10% in order to meet the needs of our growing economy … India's current electricity generation is primarily based on coal. India's reserves of coal would be inadequate to meet our needs after 2050.
>
> (the at IAEA Board of Governors Meeting 2008)

While signing the Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act, the US president said:

> India is now the world's fifth-largest consumer of energy and its demand for electricity is expected to double by 2015 … this bill lays the foundations for a new strategic partnership between our two nations that will help ease India's demands for fossil fuels and ease pressure on global markets.
>
> (US–India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act 2006)

Under the deal, India has fulfilled its most important strategic need by getting assurance from the US about the fuel supply for its nuclear reactors. India has obtained the rights to develop strategic reserves of nuclear fuel for its reactors over their lifetime. Under the separation plan, the US would ensure the fuel supply for India's reactors and in any event of disruption, both countries will jointly pursue their friendly states to fulfill the deficiency. The Indian prime minister told Parliament: "In the event of disruption of fuel supplies despite the assurances, India will have a right to take corrective measure to ensure the operation of its nuclear reactors" (Manmohan Singh 2006).

The strategic partnership with the US has also provided India with the opportunity to become a member of the International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor along with Japan, China, Korea, Russia, the European Union, and the US. During a review of further progress in enhancing strategic partnership between the US and India, the leaders of both countries:

> reaffirm[ed] their commitment to expanding even further the growing ties between the two countries; consistent with this objective, the two leaders welcomed the participation of India in the ITER initiative on fusion energy as an important further step toward the common goal of full nuclear energy cooperation.
>
> (Fact Sheet: United States and India: Strategic Partnership 2006)

Space technology

The most significant development in the India–US Strategic Partnership is the conclusion of an agreement between the two states on civil space cooperation (Frum 2006). Moreover, both states are negotiating agreements "that will allow for the launch of US satellites and satellites containing US components by Indian launch vehicles" (Fact Sheet: United States and India Strategic Partnership 2006). The governments of India and the US have also agreed to cooperate in the areas of space exploration, satellite navigation, space launch vehicles, and the commercial space arena through the Working Group on Civil Space Cooperation. The US proponents also aver that "increased civil space cooperation with India can lead to practical solutions to everyday problems related to communication, navigation, the environment, meteorology, and other areas of scientific inquiry" (Kronstadt 2005). Having a track record of diverting the technology provided for civil purposes to military objectives, India might use space technology provided by the US for its strategic objectives, which could lead to the development of highly sophisticated missile system. Most of the current Indian missile systems technology is also based on such diversion. Discussing the implications of the India–US Strategic Partnership and cooperation in space technology, Lora Saalman suggests that "space technology also doubles for missile technology and US-provided advances could be used in enhancing India's pursuit of intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) and submarine-launched ballistic missile capabilities" (Saalman 2005, 3).

Strengthening maritime power

According to an official report by the Indian Ministry of Information:

> The need for enhanced maritime security has also to be seen in the backdrop of a long coastline facing the Arabian Sea on the West, the Bay of Bengal to the east and the vast Indian Ocean in the South. Increased economic activity along the coast and the growth of major towns has heightened this

> necessity. Over recent years, maritime issues like the security of sea lanes, piracy on the high seas, energy security, WMD, terrorism, etc. have become important elements in India's security.
>
> (India's Ministry of Information 2010)

This indicates that India feels threatened by the growing capability of China's navy and Beijing's growing maritime presence in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. India views the Chinese presence in the Bay of Bengal, the Southern Indian Ocean, and the Arabian Sea as part of Chinese efforts to encircle India. Currently, despite partnerships with some countries having strengthened the Indian sense of security, anxieties persist with others such as China and Pakistan. Discussing the objectives of India's maritime strategy, Chief of Naval Staff Admiral Sureesh Mehta writes, "The Indian Navy needs to project power; catalyze partnerships; build trust and create interoperability, and when required use convincing power to achieve national aims" (Mehta 2007, iv). The Indian Maritime Doctrine issued by the Indian Navy on April 25, 2004, describes Indian ambitions to project power as a regional power where the role of the Indian Navy is one of the prominent instruments. The Indian Navy's $4.73 billion budget for 2010 accounts for 15 percent of the defense budget. Nearly half these funds are for modernization and acquisition of naval forces, including naval aviation and submarines (Choudhury 2010).

Since India wants to boost the capacity of its navy, it is taking steps to strengthen it through different projects. Project Seabird is one of them. The project will enhance the Indian Navy's capacity to police Indian Ocean sea lanes and even allow it to deny access to any other state. The project is also part of a grand strategy to counter China in the wake of its 'string of pearls strategy', which aims, as described by Mohan and Khanna, "to develop deep-water ports and stronger diplomatic and military relations with Pakistan, Burma, and Indonesia" (Mohan and Khanna 2006). The project aims at building a naval base exclusively for Indian Navy ships. According to a report by the GlobalSecurity website:

> One of the unique features of the base is the ship-lift and ship-transfer system for dry-docking of the ship at the Naval Ship Repair Yard.… The ship-lift will be able to lift all other Indian Navy vessels except aircraft carriers and supply vessels.
>
> (INS Kadamba 2005)

Since this project aims to contain China's "string of pearls strategy" and would contribute to enhancing the Indian Navy's capacity to police the Indian Ocean region, India would seek US assistance in the completion of the project.

Competitive market availability

India has acquired a competitive market for purchasing from different sellers which can provide it a better bargaining position. Before the conclusion of the

strategic partnership between the two states, India had a limited market available to fulfill its strategic needs. Now, India will not only have access to more products but it can also enjoy a competitive market for its defense purchases and can negotiate leverage against Russia, the US, France, Israel, and other major arms suppliers. This became evident recently, when India was offered the chance to purchase the most modern F-35 fighter jets from the US after rejecting the offer of F-16 and F-18 jets. According to a report about the US's offer of F-35 jets, "The pitch for the Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) comes after Boeing and Lockheed Martin lost out to European competitors in April bidding for an $11 billion deal to supply India with 126 multi-role combat jets" (Zee News 2011b). France and Russia have already appreciated US cooperation with India and voiced it as a "broad lifting of constraints on trade with India, hoping soon to be able to provide fuel and technology for India's nuclear, space, and defense programs" (Saalman 2005, 3). Lora Saalman predicts that the "increased US presence also creates an incentive for China and other states to engage India further economically, politically, and militarily to prevent the U.S. from becoming India's primary partner" (Saalman 2005, 3).

Analysis of India–US cooperation under the strategic partnership suggests that the US has offered India unprecedented help to fulfill its needs not only in civilian nuclear technology but also in the strategic realm. India has been granted unlimited freedom regarding the qualitative and quantitative development of its nuclear arsenal along with the modernization of its defense capabilities. Loopholes in the agreements with India suggest that they will contribute to the development of India's nuclear arsenal. There is no profound guarantee about the non-diversion of nuclear technology toward military purposes. India can make qualitative and quantitative improvements in its nuclear arsenal through the transfer of nuclear technology. There is no assurance that India would not use transferred technology for military purposes through the newly trained personnel equipped with advanced US nuclear technology. India has a proven history of betraying the trust and confidence of its benefactors by diverting technology provided for the peaceful use of nuclear energy to the clandestine production of nuclear weapons. Given its track record, it is certain to use the supply of nuclear technology and foreign fuel supplies meant under the deal for the civil nuclear program to accelerate its weapons program. Moreover, India can also refuse to comply with the so-called moratorium on nuclear testing, giving implausible excuses regarding security issues.

This is evident by India's prime minister's view: "[T]he country would retain its right to carry out future nuclear tests despite a civilian nuclear deal with the United States" (*Oaklahoman* 2006). According to a report by the Press Trust of India, India's prime minister said in Parliament, "There is no scope for capping of our strategic (nuclear) program. It will be decided by the people, government, and Parliament of the country and not by any outside power" (India Said to Retain Right to Hold Tests 2006). Claims about the track record of India are also questionable on the grounds that the NSG was created as a response to India's 1974 nuclear tests (Joshi 2010) when it had diverted "atoms for peace" to

nuclear weapon development. According to Mark Heinrich, "The NSG was formed in reaction to India's shock 1974 nuclear test explosion, using reactor technology provided by Canada in the 1950s supposedly for peaceful energy development" (Heinrich 2008). The so-called non-proliferation intentions of the Indian establishment also need to be examined through multiple dimensions, including the dangers of vertical proliferation.

5 India–US nuclear deal and nuclear non-proliferation

Nuclear technology around the world is usually associated with negative connotations in international politics. The devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki shook the world and taught the consequences of the negative use of nuclear technology. But, apart from the devastating capacity of nuclear technology, it also has very constructive and positive use which should not be left unexplored and made redundant. Therefore, Eisenhower brought the "Atoms for Peace" (Roehrlich 2013) program in 1953 so that the world could benefit from the positive use of nuclear technology. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was created (Fischer 1997) under the auspices of the United Nations to contain the negative use of technology provided for peaceful purposes. Another arrangement to strengthen nuclear non-proliferation was made through the introduction of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1968, which was further supplemented through the creation of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) in 1974, initially known as the London Suppliers Group. All these arrangements contribute to instituting a framework of nuclear non-proliferation, which aims at discouraging the proliferation of nuclear technology for devastating purposes.

Institutionalizing non-proliferation

Keeping in view the dangers of nuclear proliferation, various non-proliferation regimes have been created to control the spread of nuclear technology which could contribute to the development of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), including IAEA, NPT, and NSG. First and foremost is the IAEA which was created to support the "Atoms for Peace" program under the UN framework. IAEA was created in 1957 with a dual-purpose mission to "control and promote" atoms for peace (Fischer 1997). The real mission of IAEA with reference to non-proliferation is in its mission statement, which claims: "IAEA verifies through its inspection system that States comply with their commitments, under the Non-Proliferation Treaty and other non-proliferation agreements, to use nuclear material and facilities only for peaceful purposes" (Fischer 1997). Moreover, Article 2 of the IAEA statute lays down its objective stating:

> The Agency shall seek to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health, and prosperity throughout the world.… It shall ensure, so far as it is able, that assistance provided by it or at its request or under its supervision or control is not used in such a way as to further any military purpose.
>
> (Fischer 1997)

The second arrangement to further strengthen the non-proliferation system was made through the creation of the NPT in 1968 (Shaker 1980). Although NPT was founded on the discriminative principle of division between nuclear "haves" and "have nots", it has contributed a lot to achieving the goals of non-proliferation by bringing a greater number of countries under its umbrella, where the "have nots" have committed to not pursue nuclear weapon programs (Fischer 1997). While discussing the impact of NPT on the functioning of IAEA, George Bunn writes, "In the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) of 1968, the IAEA gained authority for policing the nuclear activities of member countries to ensure that those without nuclear weapons did not acquire them" (Bunn 2003). Although IAEA is not a party to the NPT, it has been placed as the major pillar to achieve the NPT objectives. Article 3 of the NPT empowers the IAEA to inspect nuclear technology and verify its use only for peaceful purposes (Bunn 2003). NPT Article 3 states:

> Each non-nuclear-weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes to accept safeguards, as set forth in an agreement to be negotiated and concluded with the International Atomic Energy Agency in accordance with the Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency and the Agency's safeguards system, for the exclusive purpose of verification.
>
> (Shaker 1980)

"Atoms for Peace" aimed at positive uses of nuclear technology and many countries around the world including India gained civilian nuclear technology and benefited from the nuclear technology provided for peaceful purposes. But this positive process was severely damaged for the first time by India with the so-called "Smiling Buddha" test (India Today 2016a). It was conducted in 1974 by India misusing the atoms for peace and diverting civilian nuclear technology provided for peaceful uses by Canada (Perkovich 2002). India acquired nuclear weapon technology which not only undermined the "Atoms for Peace" but also ushered in a series of new frameworks to strengthen non-proliferation. Leading to the creation of the London Suppliers Group, currently known as the NSG. This cap over the nuclear proliferation was introduced as a nuclear business cartel, now known as the Nuclear Suppliers Group, in response to India's nuclear tests in 1974, which were made possible through the clandestine diversion of nuclear technology provided for civilian purposes. Therefore, one can say that the NSG was actually "created" due to India's negative use of

nuclear technology provided for positive purposes. India can be attributed as a "premier architect of proliferation" (PAP).

The irony is that despite being the foundational stimulator in the creation of the NSG, India was again given an opportunity to "dent" the smoothly running NSG framework through the provision of a state-specific waiver in 2008 (Wastler 2010), marking discrimination on the face of the NSG. The situation gets worse when such a state claims to have a so-called clean track record regarding proliferation and aspires to reach the upper echelons of the NSG. As part of the India–US Strategic Partnership, India now aspires to gain a foothold in the nuclear non-proliferation regime with the US's support and therefore was able to procure discriminatory state-specific waivers from the IAEA and NSG. Though the NSG provides a set of guidelines for nuclear trade with an objective to stop the spread of nuclear technology as well as equipment and fissile material, it is not mandatory for the participating states to apply them. However, despite being non-mandatory, these guidelines are usually adhered to by the member states, except in a few cases where a grandfather clause was used to perform nuclear commerce contrary to the NSG guidelines.

All of these regimes together constitute an institutional framework providing assistance to the goals of non-proliferation. Although, these regimes were created independently from each other at different times and with different functions, they have been so interconnected that the performance of one regime affects the performance of the others. These regimes work jointly, like a virtual system of non-proliferation based on the principle of interdependence. Hampering any one of these regimes' principles or guidelines will be equal to hampering the whole non-proliferation system. Therefore, equitable implementation of these regimes for all states in the world becomes mandatory for assuring the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons around the world.

India–US nuclear deal

The beginning of the twenty-first century marked an important development in India–US relations, when the two states committed to cooperate with each other in almost every sector of mutual interest. The current India–US partnership has been termed "irreversible" (Blank 2005). No US president visited India for 22 years between Jimmy Carter's visit in 1978 and Clinton's visit in 2000: a long period in which two important states that have no basic conflict neglected to improve their bilateral relations. Clinton's visit (Mohan 2006a) proved to be a landmark in the enhancement of bilateral relations between the two states, laying down the foundation stone for developing mutual cooperation. The cordial relations initiated by the Clinton administration were continued by the Bush administration without any break. During the Indian prime minister's visit to the US on July 18, 2005, the leaders of both states announced a significant proposal on nuclear cooperation for civil purposes (Mohan 2006b). President Bush gave assurances that he would work to relax nuclear trade between the two states if a distinction was drawn between the military and civilian nuclear parts of the

Indian nuclear complex (Boese 2006) while India agreed to do so and place many but not all of its reactors under safeguards (India 2006). During his state visit to India on March 2, 2006, President Bush declared he would conclude a nuclear cooperation agreement with India and called it a "necessary nuclear power agreement" (Boese 2006). India declared its separation plan in March 2006, creating a distinction between civilian and military nuclear installations which classified "14 of 22 existing and under construction power reactors as a civilian" (Boese 2006).

Thereafter, the Henry J. Hyde United States–India Peaceful Atomic Energy Cooperation Act of 2006 was passed, which exempted India from the instrumental clauses of the US Atomic Energy Act of 1954. The approval of the act by Congress exempted India from those US legislations (Terhune 2006) which were enacted as a response to the 1974 nuclear tests by India using the Canadian reactors and the US-origin heavy water which were obtained for civilian purposes. The earlier legislation had abandoned all kinds of nuclear trade with South Asian countries three decades previously (Boese 2006). Though the US had always tried to portray its firm stand against the recognition of India as a nuclear weapon state, it could not maintain it for long and ultimately granted India a tacit but de facto recognition as a nuclear state in the summer of 2005.

While surviving some domestic political upheavals, the nuclear deal between the two states got approval from the India Parliament. In 2008, the IAEA also gave the nod to the deal and the Indian government moved ahead for approval from the NSG, which was granted in September 2008. Thereafter, the deal went through the process of approval from US Congress and came into law with the final signature of President George W. Bush on October 8, 2008 (Pan 2010).

NPT and the India–US nuclear deal

The catastrophic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki with the use of nuclear weapons and their long-lasting after-effects shook the international community on one hand, while on the other hand the advantages given by nuclear weapon capability in obtaining political strength in international relations as well as in security assurances raised the desire of every power-seeker and every security-stricken country to obtain such capability. However, the catastrophes compelled the international community to think about the negative consequences of nuclear proliferation. In order to curtail the spread of nuclear weapons, NPT came into existence, categorizing the international world into two categories of "haves" and "have nots", i.e., nuclear weapon states (NWS) and non-nuclear weapon states (NNWS). Article 1 and Article 2 of the NPT oblige both categories to discourage the spread of nuclear weapons. Article 1 puts obligations on NWS not to transfer nuclear weapon technology to NNWS, while Article 2 constrains NNWS from obtaining the same. Almost every country of the world had joined the NPT except three states, Israel, India, and Pakistan, who refused to sign the

treaty due to various national security imperatives as well as the discriminatory nature of the pact. Among these three outliers, Pakistan and India have become de facto NWS by their nuclear tests in 1998 while Israel is widely believed to be a NWS who has not declared its capacity through nuclear tests. Being a signatory to NPT as an NWS, the US has obligations to fulfill the requirements laid down by Article 1, while India falls into the NNWS category under the NPT due to its non-signatory status and is therefore not eligible for nuclear cooperation with any NPT member state. However, it has been enabled to conduct nuclear commerce through the nuclear deal between the US and India under the guise of the India–US Strategic Partnership.

Despite decades-long efforts to curtail nuclear proliferation, NPT seems to fall prey to the Realist paradigm where states are free from any kind of moral or even legal obligations to safeguard their interests. The India–US nuclear deal is the best example of this premise. Analysis of the India–US nuclear deal with special reference to Articles 1 and 2 of the NPT suggests that the deal provides "indirect assistance" to India in its nuclear weapon program; hence, it is in great contradiction with the principles of NPT and the US has breached its commitments toward non-proliferation and contributed to hampering the effectiveness of the most powerful non-proliferation regime. Along with this violation of the NPT spirit, the India–US nuclear deal will also have negative implications on the security dynamics of South Asia where India and Pakistan are known as arch rivals. Enabling India to enhance its nuclear weapon stockpiles through the India–US nuclear deal will definitely have negative implications for Pakistan as well as for regional and international peace and stability.

Violating NPT Articles 1 and 2

The first two articles of the NPT present the gist of the whole treaty and its underlying objectives. Article 1[1] of NPT (US State Department 2017) makes it mandatory for the NWS (haves) to neither assist nor encourage any NNWS (have nots) in manufacturing or acquiring nuclear weapons or control over nuclear weapons either directly or indirectly, while the Article 2[2] (US State Department 2017) of the same treaty puts obligations on NNWS to neither manufacture nor acquire or seek or receive any assistance or control over nuclear weapons or explosive devices from any transfer whatsoever by any direct or indirect means. The India–US nuclear cooperation under the strategic partnership claims to be civilian and peaceful as per the draft of the agreement in which both the US and India desired:

> to cooperate extensively in the full development and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes … to establish the necessary legal framework and basis for cooperation concerning peaceful uses of nuclear energy … [and affirm] that the cooperation under this Agreement will be committed to preventing WMD proliferation.
>
> (Text of 123 Agreement 2007)

However, it has been observed that the India–US 123 Agreement stands in violation of Articles 1 and 2 of the NPT on the part of the US. The agreement is a direct breach of Article 1 where the US has offered nuclear technology to an NNWS in violation of the NPT regulations, and the breach of Article 1 automatically contributes to the violation of Article 2. The US's assistance to India is an indirect breach of Article 2 by the US where it drives the NNWS to abrogate Article 2. India, who is not party to the NPT but is known as an NNWS in effect, has been enabled to obtain those benefits which are given to de jure NNWS (NPT signatories); this fosters a sense of deprivation in the NPT-signatory NNWS which may consequently encourage them to opt for the clandestine development of nuclear weapons. Therefore, this breach of Articles 1 and 2 of NPT through the 123 Agreement contributes to encouraging the nuclear arms race, which undermines the basic objectives of NPT.

Although the draft India–US nuclear agreement was devised with the desire to establish a legal framework to pursue cooperation, it contained certain clauses which do not conform to the international norms regarding non-proliferation. The scope of the agreement is too wide such that it provides too many opportunities to India for the advancement of its nuclear program. For example, Article 2 of the 123 Agreement provides a commitment to cooperation in advanced nuclear energy research, nuclear safety, exchange of scientists for visits, technology transfer, and development of a strategic reserve of nuclear fuel. Clause 4 of the same article provides complete autonomy to each state regarding nuclear-related developments made by each party along with complete freedom of nuclear activities at unsafeguarded installations (Text of 123 Agreement 2007). The deal provides indirect assistance to India through technology transfer and exchange of scientists, because they contribute to training the personnel who can be rerouted toward India's nuclear weapon development program. There is no provision in the agreement that bars the transfer of such personnel to nuclear weapon development installations in India. Article 3 of the agreement provides India with the facility to gather all the information concerning the use of nuclear energy that had been banned for several decades. Now India will have access to advanced nuclear-related US expertise in all respects, which is synonymous with the transfer of nuclear technology by an NWS to an NNWS, constituting a violation (Text of 123 Agreement 2007).

Access to international developments like research on multilateral projects such as the International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor and providing training to personnel from each side may also enable Indian personnel to clandestinely divert nuclear technology toward military purposes. Under Article 3, Clauses 3 and 4, each party is given full freedom in determining the nature of "restricted data", which enables India to bar US inspection of its installations where obtained nuclear technology might be used for military purposes. Articles 4 and 5 of the agreement provide facilitation regarding nuclear trade to India, which allows India not only to have bilateral nuclear trade with the US but also to have nuclear trade with a third country. Moreover, Article 5 of the agreement provides freedom for transfer of nuclear materials and

equipment to each side. It is pertinent to note that Article 5, Clause 2, allows access to the dual-use items that could be used in enrichment, reprocessing or heavy water production facilities. Access to foreign uranium for use in nuclear reactors and permission to transfer even the fissionable material in small quantities as samples under Article 5, Clause 5, further worsens the situation for global non-proliferation enshrined in NPT objectives. Although Article 9 of the agreement tries to ensure the peaceful use of nuclear technology transferred under the agreement it fails to get any reasonable assurance from either side against its violation (Text of 123 Agreement 2007).

IAEA and the India–US nuclear deal

IAEA was created as an instrument to ensure the peaceful use of nuclear technology and non-diversion of such technology toward military purposes. This assurance is achieved through the application of technical measures, which are known as the IAEA safeguards. These safeguards provide a mechanism of verification regarding the use of nuclear material and inspection of activities at nuclear facilities. The main objective of the IAEA safeguards as mentioned in its basics is:

> to deter the spread of nuclear weapons by the early detection of the misuse of nuclear material or technology … this provides credible assurances that States are honoring their legal obligations that nuclear material is being used only for peaceful purposes.
>
> (Basics of IAEA Safeguards 2019)

Since a large number of states in the world are members of NPT, no global commerce regarding nuclear technology can escape from its principles. Under Article 3 of the NPT, it is obligatory for any state involved in nuclear commerce to be scrutinized by the IAEA safeguards; therefore, it becomes mandatory for each NNWS to conclude a safeguards agreement with the IAEA for the purpose of inspection/verification of their nuclear activities. The IAEA offers three types of safeguards agreements: comprehensive safeguards with NNWS members of NPT, voluntary safeguards with NWS members of NPT, and item-specific agreements with non-NPT member states. Any kind of agreement between the states concerned and the IAEA is followed by additional protocols and subsidiary arrangements, which may contain provisions related to access to the information and elements involved in the nuclear fuel cycle for the purpose of inspection and verification of both declared and undeclared nuclear-related facilities. It is pertinent to note that the NPT-based safeguard agreements with the IAEA allows only the inspection of declared nuclear facilities and material and therefore undeclared nuclear facilities and material may escape inspection and verification under the IAEA safeguard arrangements. In order to deal with such shortcomings, an Additional Protocol has been introducing which brings all the declared and undeclared nuclear facilities, materials, and activities under the

IAEA safeguard jurisdiction. The Additional Protocol, in fact, aims at widening the scope of the IAEA safeguards to include greater access for the IAEA inspectors to freely inspect the nuclear fuel cycle activities in the states concerned.

Although each additional protocol is individually tailored for each state concerned, several aspects of the protocol remain the same: the Model Additional Protocol. Measures under the Model Additional Protocol include the provision of information and access to IAEA inspectors in all parts of nuclear fuel cycle activities from uranium mining, fuel fabrication, enrichment plants, and nuclear waste sites to any other location where nuclear material may be present. The Additional Protocol also allows the IAEA inspectors access to collect environmental samples from locations beyond the declared locations of nuclear materials, freedom to use international communication systems including satellite communications, issuance of multiple entry visas, and access to information about research and development activities related to nuclear materials and information about the import, export, and manufacturing of sensitive nuclear-related technologies and their locations. While demanding universal adherence to the Additional Protocol, the NWS, who are not supposed to have comprehensive safeguards, have adopted unique versions of the protocol in accordance with their unique requirements. Since the NWS adopt voluntary adherence to the IAEA safeguards, their distinction seems plausible but when India's Additional Protocol agreement with the IAEA is taken into account, it emerges as evidence of the distinctive leverage granted to India by the IAEA. It is a unique example of the IAEA's Additional Protocol violating its own basic purpose.

The actual purpose of the protocol was to widen the scope and jurisdiction of the IAEA safeguards but, in the case of India, it serves to limit the scope and jurisdiction of the safeguards to the extent that their efficacy becomes equal to nil. India's IAEA Additional Protocol places only certain facilities under the safeguards, rather than all the declared and undeclared facilities. Such a concession has encouraged India to build a secret nuclear city. Moreover, India has pledged to share information about its nuclear-related exports only while escaping the pledge to give information about nuclear-related imports, research and development, and uranium mining. This implies that IAEA will not be able to keep a check on India's acquisition of fissile material either imported or indigenously produced. Moreover, IAEA will not have complementary access to inspect the undeclared nuclear-related facilities, which was the basic purpose of introducing the Additional Protocol. Apart from such a useless India-specific Additional Protocol, the India–US 123 Agreement also gives complete freedom to India regarding safeguard agreements with the IAEA. Article 10 of the 123 Agreement talks about the maintenance of IAEA safeguards on nuclear-related activities where India has agreed to enter into an India-specific safeguard agreement with the IAEA.

Although, India has entered into such an agreement, under this article the agreement becomes inefficient when the provision of alternative safeguard

arrangements is given to India in case of IAEA's refusal to implement the safeguards. Article 10, paragraph 4, of the India–US 123 Agreement mentions that "[i]f the IAEA decides that the application of the IAEA safeguards is no longer possible, the supplier and recipient should consult and agree on appropriate verification measures" (Text of 123 Agreement 2007). This provision implies that India is not bound to have only IAEA safeguard arrangements. The possible bilateral verification arrangements will severely contribute to damaging the IAEA safeguards mechanism. It means that the IAEA will not be in a position to affect the nuclear cooperation between India and the US. In other words, the India-specific IAEA safeguards are designed only to get so-called legitimacy for the cooperation. It is pertinent to note here that the sole purpose of the IAEA safeguards is to prevent the diversion of nuclear material toward nuclear weapon programs. But, in the case of the IAEA safeguards on Indian nuclear facilities, these will not prove to be a potent instrument for serving non-proliferation objectives.

NSG and the India-specific waiver

While desiring to contribute to the effectiveness and integrity of global non-proliferation and seeking to promote the fundamental principles of safeguards in an NSG plenary meeting held on September 6, 2008, participating states could only note the "energy needs of India" around the world (Kerr 2012). The NSG plenary either was unable or deliberately escaped to note the discriminatory exemptions granted to India by the US administration as well as by the IAEA through various India-specific arrangements for nuclear cooperation. The plenary not only turned a blind eye to these discriminative acts by the IAEA and the US government, but also left itself prey to contribute to nuclear cooperation with India by providing a waiver to India regarding the implementation of its guidelines. The irony is that instead of reacting against the India-specific arrangements of the IAEA and the ambiguous separation plan provided by India, the participating states placed them as a foundational reasons to provide an NSG waiver for nuclear commerce with India (Kerr 2012). The plenary overlooked the non-proliferation apprehensions and provided a nod to India on the basis of mere commitments on a moratorium on nuclear testing, adhering to the Additional Protocol of IAEA, refraining from transfer of technologies, instituting national export-control systems, harmonizing export-control lists with NSG guidelines, and readiness to work to the Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (Kerr 2012). It is noteworthy that none of these measures were adopted by India at the time the NSG waiver was granted nor was any firm legal document concluded to endorse them. All the proclaimed bases for granting the NSG waiver were mere napkins to avoid opposition.

Based on these flawed and shrouded arrangements, the NSG plenary meeting pledged, notwithstanding instrumental NSG guidelines under paragraphs 4(a), 4(b), and 4(c) of INFCIRC/254/Rev. 9/Part 1 and paragraphs 4(a) and 4(b) of INFCIRC/254/Rev.7/Part 2, against the basic objectives of the NSG and

allowed the "transfer of trigger list items, nuclear-related dual-use equipment, materials, software, and related technologies to India" (Goldschmidt 2008). The irony of such a state-centric policy declaration is that the NSG chair was requested in the end to consult with India regarding changes to and implementation of NSG guidelines for facilitating India (Goldschmidt 2008).

Paragraphs 4(A), 4(B) and 4(C) of INFCIRC/254/Rev.9/Part 1

4.(a) Suppliers should transfer trigger list items or related technology to a non-nuclear weapon State only when the receiving State has brought into force an agreement with the IAEA requiring the application of safeguards on all source and special fissionable material in its current and future peaceful activities. Suppliers should authorize such transfers only upon formal governmental assurances from the recipient that:

- if the above-mentioned agreement should be terminated the recipient will bring into force an agreement with the IAEA based on existing IAEA model safeguards agreements requiring the application of safeguards on all trigger list items or related technology transferred by the supplier or processed, or produced or used in connection with such transfers; and
- if the IAEA decides that the application of IAEA safeguards is no longer possible, the supplier and recipient should elaborate appropriate verification measures. If the recipient does not accept these measures, it should allow at the request of the supplier the restitution of transferred and derived trigger list items.

4.(b) Transfers covered by paragraph 4 (a) to a non-nuclear-weapon State without such a safeguards agreement should be authorized only in exceptional cases when they are deemed essential for the safe operation of existing facilities and if safeguards are applied to those facilities. Suppliers should inform and, if appropriate, consult in the event that they intend to authorize or to deny such transfers.

4.(c) The policy referred to in paragraph 4 (a) and 4 (b) does not apply to agreements or contracts drawn up on or prior to April 3, 1992. In the case of countries that have adhered or will adhere to INFCIRC/254/Rev. 1/Part 1 later than April 3, 1992, the policy only applies to agreements (to be) drawn up after their date of adherence.

(Goldschmidt 2008)

Paragraphs 4(A) and 4(B) of INFCIRC/254/Rev.7/Part 2

4. Suppliers should have in place legal measures to ensure the effective implementation of the Guidelines, including export licensing regulations, enforcement measures, and penalties for violations. In considering whether to authorize transfers, suppliers should exercise

prudence in order to carry out the Basic Principle and should take relevant factors into account, including:

4.(a) Whether the recipient state is a party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) or to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco), or to a similar international legally-binding nuclear non-proliferation agreement, and has an IAEA safeguards agreement in force applicable to all its peaceful nuclear activities;

4.(b) Whether any recipient state that is not party to the NPT, Treaty of Tlatelolco, or a similar international legally-binding nuclear non-proliferation agreement has any facilities or installations listed in paragraph 3(b) above that are operational or being designed or constructed that are not, or will not be, subject to IAEA safeguards.

(Goldschmidt 2008)

According to the statement of the NSG Plenary meeting on September 6, 2008, the participating governments of the NSG decided to adopt the policy:

> Notwithstanding paragraphs 4(a) and 4(b) of INFCIRC/254/Rev.7/Part 2, Participating Government may transfer nuclear-related dual-use equipment, materials, software, and related technology to India for peaceful purposes and for use in IAEA-safeguarded civil nuclear facilities, provided that the transfer satisfies all other provisions of INFCIRC/254/Part 2, as revised and provided that transfers of sensitive exports remain subject to paragraphs 6 and 7 of Guidelines.
>
> (Goldschmidt 2008)

India's abstention

What India was able to abstain from through the India-specific waiver granted by the NSG is of great importance with reference to the future of non-proliferation. Apart from technical modalities, the significant impact of this discriminatory favor to India is about the political psychology of non-proliferation endeavors. This waiver has collapsed the legal as well as ethical morale of non-proliferation advocates, including individuals, organizations, and dispassionate states. Let's have an analysis of the technical abstention achieved by India through the waiver granted by the NSG participating states.

Exemption from IAEA full-scope safeguards: Under paragraph 4(a) of the NSG guidelines part 1, "an agreement with the IAEA requiring the application of safeguards on *all* source and special fissionable material in its current and future peaceful activities" is required for transfer of trigger list items to NNWS (Goldschmidt 2008) . It also requires that such a transfer is materialized only if "the receiving state has brought into force" the agreement with the IAEA (Goldschmidt 2008).

Granting exemption from paragraph 4(a) (Goldschmidt 2008) implies that India will not be required to bring *all* its current as well as future nuclear infrastructure under the IAEA safeguards. Moreover, if India concludes some so-called agreements with the IAEA for some of its nuclear structures, it will have the choice to enforce the agreement either prior to the transfer of trigger list items or after the transfer has materialized, or abstain from enforcing the so-called state-specific agreements with IAEA. Keeping these things in view, one can understand that the exemption from paragraph 4(a) will result in the impotency of IAEA safeguards, which may result in enabling India to use imported nuclear technology and equipment for the vertical proliferation of the Indian nuclear weapon program.

Exemption from alternate verification measures: Paragraph 4(a) of the NSG guidelines part 1 further obliges the receiving state to elaborate appropriate verification measures in case the "application of IAEA safeguards is no longer possible" (Bruneau 2006). Exemption from this guideline contributes to India abstaining from even the alternate verification measures to be taken to ensure the peaceful use of provided trigger list items, which will provide ample opportunity for India to divert the imported nuclear contents toward its nuclear weapon program.

Exemption from restitution of transferred items: Paragraph 4(a) of the NSG guidelines part 1 also enables the supplier state to request *restitution* of transferred trigger list items in case the alternate verification measures are not taken in absence of IAEA safeguards (Bruneau 2006). As discussed above, the exemption from this paragraph has enabled India to abstain from both the IAEA safeguards requirements and from the alternate verification measures, which can result into the absence of any check on transferred trigger list items to India; this will naturally require the restitution of transferred trigger list items to the original suppliers. But India's exemption from this paragraph has inadvertently revoked the rights of supplier states to get back their technology as well as equipment, thus contributing to the violation of the rights of the original owners of the nuclear technology.

Lifetime exceptional authorization for transfer of trigger list items: Paragraph 4(b) of the NSG guidelines part 1 provides instructions about the transfer of trigger list items without the safeguards *only* in exceptional cases for the safe operation of *existing facilities* (Bruneau 2006). It does not provide authorization in exceptional cases for facilities to be built in the future. Provision of exemption from paragraph 4(b) (Bruneau 2006) has enabled India to secure such exceptional authorization for the transfer of trigger list items for its ambitious future facilities as well. This enables India to not only avoid the safeguards requirements for its existing facilities but also procure freedom for its future facilities. Since India does not have great existing nuclear infrastructure, it has huge plans for building new nuclear infrastructure, while there are reports already circulating that India is building a secret nuclear city. Exemption from paragraph 4(b) will enable India to benefit its future nuclear facilities through exceptional authorization for transfer of trigger list items without the safeguards.

No adherence in post-dated agreements: Paragraph 4(c) of the NSG guidelines part 1 (Bruneau 2006) sets the cut-off date regarding the implementation of policies referred in paragraphs 4(a) and 4(b). It requires adherence to the said paragraphs to be applied on agreements drawn up later than April 3, 1992 (Bruneau 2006). Although India has already secured exemptions from paragraphs 4(a) and 4(b), it also secured exemption from paragraph 4(c) to avoid any ambiguity regarding the implementation of the said paragraphs at its facilities to be established after April 3, 1992 (Bruneau 2006). This shows that India has left no stone unturned to avoid any kind of check on its nuclear activities. Since India does not have a considerable nuclear infrastructure built prior to the date mentioned, most of its nuclear structure will be established after the cut-off date; it could require or at least raise the need for implementation of paragraphs 4(a) and 4(b) if India has not secured exemption from 4(c).

Exemption from legal frameworks: NSG guidelines part 2, paragraph 4, require supplier states to ensure the implementation of NSG guidelines by putting legal frameworks in place (Bano 2015). These frameworks may include export licensing regulations, enforcement measures, and penalties for violations. Under paragraph 4(a), the recipient party is obliged to be a member of NPT or be under some international legally binding nuclear non-proliferation agreement and must have an IAEA safeguards agreement in force on all its peaceful nuclear activities (Bano 2015).

The NSG plenary meeting's decision (Bano 2015) to not enforce paragraphs 4(a) and 4(b) of guidelines part 2 has not only exempted India from the requirement of NPT membership but has also provided an across-the-board exemption from the requirement to be part of any international legally binding non-proliferation agreement. India is not obliged to adhere to any current legal framework for non-proliferation and has also been provided an exemption from any future international endeavor to promote non-proliferation. This has not only given India exemption from existing legal frameworks but also has encouraged it to set aside international plans for non-proliferation in the future as well. Moreover, enforcement of IAEA safeguards on all peaceful nuclear facilities has also been lifted for India. Setting aside effective non-proliferation instruments like NPT and IAEA has caused a serious blow to international non-proliferation efforts not only for the time being but for the future as well.

Flawed Indian commitments

According to the statement of the NSG plenary meeting 2008 (Bano 2015) on civil cooperation with India (Clause 3), the participating governments declared they would adopt and implement the exemption policy cited above on the basis of commitments and actions taken by India as mentioned in Clause 2. The commitments provided the rationale for provision of the India-specific waiver by the NSG participating governments. The irony is that India is enjoying the perks and privileges of these commitments, but they are not being followed.

Impracticable separation plan: a deliberate deception: As per the commitment mentioned in paragraph 2(a) of the statement, India had to separate its civilian nuclear facilities in a phased manner in accordance with the separation plan it provided (Bano 2015). It is noteworthy that the plan is the cornerstone of the India–US nuclear deal. Despite a decade having passed since the announcement of the plan, India has not yet been able to completely separate its civilian nuclear facilities from its nuclear weapon development facilities. An analysis of Indian nuclear facilities and their mutual interconnection suggests that they are so integrated that it is hard to separate them. This justifies the argument that the Indian separation plan was vague and aimed at deceiving the international community in order to legitimize the nuclear deal with the US.

Invaluable country-specific agreement with IAEA: Commitments regarding the conclusion of an agreement with the IAEA also proved to be fraught when India was provided an opportunity to have a country-specific agreement with the IAEA (Bano 2015). Moreover, India has also been provided the opportunity to refrain from IAEA safeguards, as discussed earlier, under the exemptions provided from the NSG guidelines. Since the IAEA safeguards are the cornerstone of nuclear cooperation with NSG countries, India enjoys discrimination through an India-specific agreement with the IAEA, which in itself is a manifestation of Indian intentions to clandestinely divert dual-use technologies toward military purposes.

Nuclear cooperation agreement with Bangladesh: a horizontal proliferation: A significant violation of commitments made by India, mentioned in paragraph 2(d) of the statement, to "refrain from transfer of enrichment and reprocessing technologies to the states that do not have them" (World Nuclear News 2017) has been shown recently by the conclusion of India's nuclear cooperation agreement with Bangladesh. During the visit of Bangladesh's prime minister, Hasina Wajid, to India, both the states signed *three nuclear cooperation agreements* including one agreement for nuclear power projects in Bangladesh (World Nuclear News 2017). It is a well-known fact that Bangladesh does not have enrichment and reprocessing technologies, and therefore the conclusion of a nuclear cooperation agreement with Bangladesh is a clear violation of commitments made by India. It is not just a violation but also a manifestation of Indian designs for horizontal nuclear proliferation in the South Asian region. This may inadvertently help Bangladesh to clandestinely divert these technologies for acquisition of nuclear weapons, making regional security more fraught.

Clandestine diversion: The Indian nuclear program dates back to before the creation of the non-proliferation regime; therefore, it was able to freely obtain nuclear technology and clandestinely divert it into nuclear weapon technology. India has a track record of clandestinely diverting imported nuclear technology toward its nuclear weapon program as it did when it conducted its first nuclear test in 1974, known as the "Smiling Buddha" (Bhutto 1995). It can, therefore, be inferred that the Indian nuclear program is the beneficiary of foreign technologies. Taking these facts into account, one can argue that India

does not have good credentials for non-proliferation. India had to provide an ambiguous separation plan for nuclear cooperation with the US, which itself is evidence that all of India's nuclear facilities have been contributing to the its nuclear weapon program; therefore, one can infer that India has a better capacity to produce a larger quantity of fissile material through clandestine diversion.

Implications for non-proliferation

The India–US nuclear deal has severely damaged the global non-proliferation system for the last decade and it is continuously weakening the overall architecture of the non-proliferation system around the world.

Nuclear non-proliferation regime: a subjective political instrument: The NSG waiver to India for the purpose of concluding nuclear cooperation agreements has introduced a culture of discrimination and political manipulation in international politics. In fact, it has put in question the very existence of global non-proliferation regimes like IAEA, NPT, and the NSG itself. All the logic behind the creation of these non-proliferation arrangements becomes void when particular state-specific waivers are granted and all the basic rules are amended against the very spirit of non-proliferation for the purpose of accommodating a state. Since the India–US nuclear deal has surfaced in international politics, no significant non-proliferation endeavor has yet materialized. Most of the non-proliferation activities have relied on lip-service rather than taking pragmatic steps.

Inefficient nuclear non-proliferation regime: As discussed above India has been granted a waiver from the instrumental guidelines of the NSG due to the US's utmost support; it has manifested that none of the non-proliferation regimes can keep a check on the nuclear activities of a state if it has a convergence of interests with the major powers. It is evident that India was able to secure discriminatory favors from the IAEA, NPT, and NSG due to the unparalleled support of the US.

Demoralization of nuclear non-proliferation efforts: The country-specific NSG waiver granted to India has severely damaged the morale of existing members of NPT as NNWS (Rajagopalan 2016). The states who had to sign NPT to avail themselves of nuclear cooperation for peaceful purposes can now rethink their decisions to join non-proliferation regimes like NPT, because they have learned that nuclear technology can be obtained outside of the NPT. It has been proved that gaining nuclear cooperation is a matter of relations with other countries rather than morality. Many existing members of NPT can now think to withdraw from the NPT.

Encouragement of non-NPT states: The state-centric policies of existing non-proliferation regimes and their manipulation by the big powers have further raised the apprehensions of states who are not members of the NPT. It has contributed to discouraging them from thinking about being part of the

NPT. No existing non-NPT state will now consider joining the NPT or any new endeavor to stop the spread of nuclear weapons around the world.

Scourging for nuclear disarmament: Due to the devastating effects of the use of nuclear weapons, many efforts for nuclear disarmament are underway in the world. In this scenario, if a state is given special treatment and provided nuclear technology with permission to continue its ambitious nuclear weapon program, as is the case for India, it will not be possible to convince NWS to pursue nuclear disarmament. It will not be plausible to advocate nuclear disarmament on one hand while supporting nuclear weapon development on the other. The failure of nuclear disarmament will mean that global efforts for nuclear non-proliferation are in vain.

Detrimental for regional strategic stability: Concessions granted to India have enabled India to not only pursue nuclear technology for peaceful purposes but also to enlarge its nuclear weapon inventory. This enhancement of India's nuclear arsenal will definitely affect Pakistan, who has been facing grave security threats from India. This situation will compel Pakistan to pursue an ambitious nuclear program to deter India, which will introduce a cycle of arms race in the region, leading toward a security dilemma in South Asia.

Foreign assistance to India: detrimental for nuclear non-proliferation: Against the backdrop of the India–US nuclear deal, India successfully obtained special treatment from the NSG and IAEA, which helped it to conclude nuclear-related agreements with other suppliers in the international market. India managed to conclude a nuclear cooperation agreement with Canada after 40 years of abandonment when it had clandestinely used Canadian provided facilities for its first nuclear test in 1974. Canada is the second-largest uranium producer in the world and had been reluctant to supply uranium to India due to its nuclear weapon development. India and Canada had inked a nuclear cooperation agreement in 2010 but Canadian demands for sufficient surety about non-use of Canadian produced uranium for nuclear weapon development had stalled the negotiations. Canada wanted an end-user arrangement for the proper use of its uranium and wanted its uranium to be "traceable" even after it had been supplied to India. However, India succeeded in convincing Canada on the basis of its India-specific safeguards agreement with the IAEA, which will be used by Canada as a monitoring mechanism. Both countries signed the Appropriate Arrangements Agreement on March 21, 2013, which will allow Canada to ship uranium to India (India Inks Nuclear Commerce Pact with Canada 2013).

Another benchmark for India's nuclear cooperation moves was achieved when Australia (who had previously refused nuclear cooperation with India) agreed to conduct talks for a nuclear cooperation agreement with India. On her visit to India, Australia's Prime Minister Julia Gillard declared, in a joint statement with India's Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, that "India and Australia would commence negotiations on a bilateral Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement which, for Australia, is a prerequisite for uranium sales

to other countries" (Joint Statement—Prime Minister of Australia and Prime Minister of India 2012).

Apart from Australia, India is also seeking to have a nuclear cooperation agreement with Japan and the negotiations for civilian nuclear cooperation have been underway since June 2010 (India Hopes to Restart Nuclear Talks with Japan Soon 2013). After a long period of negotiations, India and Japan signed a nuclear cooperation pact in November 2016. According to a report in *The Japan Times*, the lower house of Japan's Parliament approved the pact with India after pointing out a lot of problems. The significant problem was the absence of conditions upon which Japan may terminate the pact if India conducts nuclear weapon tests. It is also noteworthy that Japan's prime minister told the house that the pact carries stringent conditions on the transfer of nuclear technology to India but it failed to specify the conditions which may lead Japan to terminate the pact. Rather an ambiguous statement added that Japan may scrap the pact if any change occurs in India's 2008 statement regarding a moratorium on nuclear tests, while leaving room for concession to India by inserting a clause that Japan will consider whether the conditions leading to a nuclear test were a response to an action imperative to India's national security. This clause created room for India to conduct nuclear tests on the pretext of national security, which will not result in the termination of nuclear pact with Japan (Haidar 2016).

Apart from the nuclear deal with Canada, Australia, and Japan, several avenues for India regarding nuclear cooperation opened. A cursory list of India's concluded nuclear cooperation agreements and some in progress are given below to take a bird's eye view of India's nuclear collaboration around the world.

Keeping in view the discussion cited above, one can conclude that the India–US nuclear deal has severely hampered the global non-proliferation mechanism. Various non-proliferation institutions as well as treaties together constitute a well-connected and integrated mechanism that works like a virtual system of global non-proliferation. Known as regimes, these non-proliferation components, including the IAEA, NPT, and NSG, work in a way that supports each other; the performance of one regime is connected with the performance of the others; and if the performance of any one is disturbed, the whole global system of non-proliferation is disturbed. In this context, the NPT, IAEA, and NSG are the major components of this virtual global non-proliferation system; if any state manages to get special concessions from the NPT provisions, the IAEA safeguards, or the NSG guidelines, it will definitely affect the performance of the other institutions concerned, affecting the overall global non-proliferation architecture. Therefore, the conclusion of the 123 Agreement with a non-NPT India by the US, an India-specific safeguards agreement with the IAEA, and the NSG guidelines waiver granted to India are adversely affecting the global non-proliferation system.

In a continuation of such adverse activities against non-proliferation efforts, India is now trying to achieve the full membership of the NSG, which will prove

Table 5.1 India's Nuclear Agreements in the World

Sr. no.	*Country*	*Date of signing/ratifying*	*Summary*
	India, Russia and Bangladesh MoU on Civil Nuclear Cooperation	Signed on March 1, 2018	India signed the deal with Russia and Bangladesh for civil nuclear cooperation on March 1, 2018. Russia plans to build a nuclear power plant in Bangladesh. India will assist. The Nuclear Power Cooperation of India Limited will support the Russian project. The name of the plant is the "Rooppur Plant", and it is located near Ishwardi, bank of Pabna, Bangladesh. It is composed of two units. The capacity of each unit is of 1200 MW. The plant has VVER-1200 reactors of the 3+ generation technology. VVER-1200 is the most powerful reactor in Russia (*Hindu* 2018a).
	India–Japan Nuclear Cooperation Agreement	Signed on November 11, 2016	Japan's Prime Minister Shinzo Abe signed a nuclear cooperation agreement with India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi. The leadership of both states will work jointly for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. They set the agreement with the condition of India's unilateral and voluntary moratorium on nuclear testing (Ministry Of Foreign Affairs of Japan 2016)
	India–Sri Lanka Civil Nuclear Pact	Signed on February 16, 2016	India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Sri Lankan's President Maithripala Sirisena signed a civil nuclear pact that will enable both states work jointly in the transfer and exchange of knowledge and expertise, sharing of resources, capacity building, and training of personnel in the peaceful application of nuclear energy – including the use of radioisotopes – nuclear safety, radiation safety, and nuclear security (India Today 2015).
	India–Australia Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement	Singed on September 5, 2014; entered into force on November 13, 2015	India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi and Australia's Prime Minister Tony Abbott signed the Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement. In view of the agreement, both countries will collaborate with each other in peaceful uses of nuclear energy. They will also assist each other for regulation and technological development. The agreement includes mutual obligations regarding a bid for the safeguarding and physical security of the transfer and usage of nuclear material, non-nuclear material, equipment, components, and technology conversion (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade Canberra 2014). In 2015, the agreement completed its procedures and administrative arrangements. Hence, both countries officially announced it at the platform of the G20 Summit (Modi 2015).

India–Canada Civil Nuclear Pact; India–Canada MoU on Civil Nuclear Science Technology, and Innovation	Pact signed in 2013; MoU signed on February 23, 2018	In 2013, India and Canada took an initiative to work jointly on civil nuclear cooperation. The cooperation will facilitate both states in the export control of nuclear materials and equipment that are subject to IAEA safeguards (*Hindu* 2017). Canadian and Indian high officials signed a Memorandum of Understanding that covers cooperation in nuclear science, technology and innovation, and education. The agreement will further support cooperation in science and technology. It will open doors for scholars and technical experts to harness their credibility through research and scientific exchanges (Prime Minister of Canada 2018).
India–France Agreement on the Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy	Signed general framework agreement in 2010; entered into force January 14, 2010	India and France have finalized two agreements. The first is on the development of peaceful uses of nuclear energy and second is on the protection of confidentiality of technical data and information. The cooperation between the two states will be on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and concerning intellectual property rights on the development of peaceful uses of nuclear energy (French Embassy in New Delhi 2010).
India–Russia Civil Nuclear Agreement; India–Russia Civil Nuclear Action Plan	Signed on December 5, 2008; October 5, 2018	Russia's President Dmitry Medvedev signed an agreement with his Indian counterpart in 2008 for nuclear cooperation. Both states agreed and held an official meeting for the construction of the power units in the Kudankulam NPP (President of Russia 2008). Russia will construct six nuclear reactors in India for expanding the civil nuclear partnership. The director-general of the State Atomic Energy Corporation, Rosatom Alexey Likhachev, and the secretary of the Department of Atomic Energy and chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Kamlesh Vyas, signed the Action Plan for Prioritization and Implementation of Cooperation Areas in the Nuclear Field (World Nuclear News 2018b).
India–UK Civil Nuclear Cooperation	Declaration signed on February 11, 2010 Nuclear Deal signed on November 12, 2015.	UK companies signed a declaration with New Delhi to further collaborate on civil nuclear technology. Nuclear cooperation will facilitate them to fulfill their interests in energy security and low carbon growth (Department of Atomic Energy India 2010). In 2015, India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi officially visited the UK where he signed a nuclear deal with the UK's Prime Minister Cameron. The MoU was signed between the UK and the Indian Department for Atomic Energy. They will enhance joint training programs and experiences on civil nuclear cooperation with the Indian Global Centre for Nuclear Energy Partnership (World Nuclear News 2015).

Continued

Table 5.1 continued

Sr. no.	*Country*	*Date of signing/ratifying*	*Summary*
	India–South Korea Civil Nuclear Deal	Signed on July 25, 2011	The Indian government signed a civil nuclear cooperation deal with the South Korean government and developed a framework which enabled Korean companies to participate in Indian atomic power plant projects (India Today 2011). The deal was signed between Korea's President S. Pratibha Devisingh Patil and India's Prime Minister Modi in 2011 (BBC News 2011).
	India–Kazakhstan Civil Nuclear Cooperation	MoU signed in New Delhi on January24, 2009; agreement signed in Astana April 15, 2011 and July 8, 2015	India and Kazakhstan signed a MoU on civil nuclear cooperation (Enbassy of India 2011). In November 2009, a contract was signed for the supply of 2.1 thousand tons of uranium by 2014. On its expiry, a new contract was signed between Kazatomprom and the Indian Department of Atomic Energy for the supply of 5 thousand tons of uranium concentrate by 2019 (Embassy of Republc of Kazakhstan in India 2011). A pact has been signed between NAC Kazatomprom JSC and Nuclear Power Corporation of India Limited to recommence the long-term supply of natural uranium. Such pacts will fulfill the demand of Indian nuclear reactors (*Hindu* 2015).
	India–Argentina Civil Nuclear Cooperation	Signed on October 14, 2009 and 2010	India and Argentina also developed their strategic relations by signing their agreement on civil nuclear cooperation. Along with that, they signed nine more pacts to strengthen the strategic partnership. The partnership will enable them to cooperate in the scientific, technical and commercial zones (OneIndia 2009). India and Argentina signed an agreement on civil nuclear cooperation in 2010 for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy (*Hindu* 2010).
	India–Mongolia Civil Nuclear Cooperation	MoU signed in 2009	The MoU was signed between the Department of Atomic Energy of India and the Nuclear Energy Agency of Mongolia in 2009. Both states will cooperate in the field of peaceful use of radioactive minerals and nuclear energy. The leaders of both states realized that cooperation in the civil nuclear domain can be beneficial on a societal and trade level. It can help industries in the applications of radioisotopes and can assist in surveying and mining of radioactive minerals in Mongolia, and in human resource development (Chandramohan 2015). The MoU signed between India and Mongolia is in the field of peaceful use of radioactive minerals and nuclear energy. India signed such pacts to fulfill its need for uranium (Prasad 2009).

India–Namibia Nuclear Cooperation Agreement	Signed in 2009	India signed a nuclear cooperation agreement with Namibia in 2009, which is the fourth largest uranium-producing country. Namibia is also a member of the African Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty. So, there are restrictions on Namibia in exporting uranium to India as India is not a signatory to the NPT (Reddy 2016). In 2016, Namibia confirmed that a nuclear cooperation deal with India for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy would materialize soon (Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India 2016).
India–Turkey	Talks on the sidelines of the November 2015 G20 Summit; Turkey's president's official visit to India April 30–May 1, 2017	During the 2015 G20 Summit, India and Turkey focused on working jointly on civil nuclear cooperation. In addition to that, the Indian Foreign Office spokesperson, Vikas Swarup, said that Prime Minister Modi had convinced Turkish high officials to fully support India's membership of four export control regimes. They also discussed critical issues like civil nuclear cooperation, collaboration in space, United Nations reform, and agricultural research (DNA India 2015). Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan also officially visited India in 2017. Both states met to work jointly on different projects of trade, civil aviation, medicine, and energy cooperation (Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Foreign Relations 2017).
India–Vietnam Civil Nuclear Cooperation Agreement	Signed on December 9, 2016; MoU to strengthen cooperation in nuclear energy signed on March 5, 2018	In 1986, India and Vietnam signed a pact for training on civil-nuclear cooperation. In 2016, they further developed their strategic relations and focused on research and development of nuclear reactors. India wanted to get the support of the maximum number of states for entry into the NSG, so they enhanced linkage with Vietnam for the Support in Export Control Regime (US Embassy and Consulate in Vietnam/US Department of State 2014). In 2018, both states signed an MoU on cooperation in the field of atomic energy. The deal was signed between the Global Centre for Nuclear Energy Partnership, India, and Vietnam's Atomic Energy Institute. Its purpose is to strengthen technical cooperation in the field of atomic energy for peaceful purposes (World Nuclear News 2018a).
India–China Civil Nuclear Cooperation	Reported in July 2016 (no further progress)	The Chinese government agreed to support India in developing a civil nuclear energy program. The Chinese deputy ambassador to India, Liu Jinsong, disclosed to India the facts at a closed-door meeting at the National Defense College (Syed 2016).

to be the last nail in the non-proliferation coffin. Since India is, at the moment, enjoying an NSG waiver in its nuclear cooperation agreement around the world, there is not urgency for India to get proper membership of the NSG. India's request for permanent membership of the NSG is status-driven and aims at obtaining great-power status. Since India enjoys a country-specific waiver from the NSG and IAEA, it is not facing a significant hurdle regarding its fissile material necessities; its efforts to obtain NSG membership have a greater objective of gaining supremacy and power in the regime that may enable India to exert its influence around the world in the nuclear market contributing to its political strength. It is well known that such aspirations of India gained momentum after the India–US Strategic Partnership enabled India to enjoy preferential treatment in various endeavors, yet it is not too late for the international community to understand the non-proliferation imperatives.

Equitable application of non-proliferation principles in the nuclear realm is the only choice that fulfills justice requirements. It is a basic principle of international law that all states are equally sovereign and entitled to equal treatment when it comes to the application of international rules and regulations. There is no place for discrimination under the UN Charter. Therefore, India should not be given distinctive privileges by the NSG in conferring international obligations. Since the IAEA works under the auspices of the UN, it is legitimate to urge the IAEA to treat all states equally in the conclusion and application of its safeguards agreements. Providing opportunities for a country-specific safeguard agreement to any state is not only damaging the original spirit of the IAEA but is also a violation of the principle of equality under the UN Charter and international law.

To sum up, it has now become evident that nuclear non-proliferation concerns in contemporary international politics have emerged as a tool to achieve foreign policy objectives by leaders of the so-called global nuclear order. NWS under the NPT have monopolized the rules of the game in such a way as to pretend to ensure international peace while actually serving the strategic interests of the major powers. The pragmatic approach in international relations suggests that morality has nothing to do with state affairs; with this reference, an analysis of the India–US nuclear deal has shown that international non-proliferation regimes work in accordance with the Realist perspective under the guise of Liberalism to serve the strategic interests of major powers.

Notes

1 "Each nuclear weapon State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to transfer to any recipient whatsoever nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices or control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; and not in any way to assist, encourage, or induce any non-nuclear-weapon State to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, or control over such weapons or explosive devices" (UN Office for Disarmament Affairs n.d.).
2 "Each non-nuclear-weapon (NNWS) State Party to the Treaty undertakes not to receive the transfer from any transferor whatsoever of nuclear weapons or other

nuclear explosive devices or of control over such weapons or explosive devices directly, or indirectly; not to manufacture or otherwise acquire nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices; and not to seek or receive any assistance in the manufacture of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices" (UN Office for Disarmament Affairs n.d.).

6 The strategic partnership and defense cooperation

India–US security cooperation has never been comparable with that of Pakistan–US cooperation in the past. Because of recent changes in the international environment and priorities, this cooperation is increasing steadily but it is still in its inception phase. The terrorist incident of September 2001 resulted in far-reaching changes in international politics. It also provided a chance for India to restructure its relations with the US in the wake of a new emerging international setup and Indian priorities. India took the opportunity by providing unconditional cooperation to the US in its war against terrorism. Although the US was the first country to give military aid to India after independence, the defense relationship between the two countries did not grow at full pace until the end of the Cold War. K. Subrahmanyam writes:

> In 1948–49, India attempted to obtain some US equipment, during the Kashmir war, using the personal friendship of Col B M Kaul (then posted as our defense attaché in Washington, who subsequently became Lt General) with then US Defense Secretary Louis Johnson. It did not succeed. However, in 1950, there was little cooperation between the two countries when India imported a division of tanks from the US.
>
> (Subrahmanyam 2005)

A small period of military defense cooperation came during the 1962 Sino-Indian war but this, too, remained limited to the small arms, ammunition, and communication system for mountain warfare (Malik 2006, 83–84). Discussing the US defense cooperation with India during the 1962 Sino-Indian war, Subrahmanyam writes,

> The US had promised infantry equipment for six mountain divisions, Fairchild Packet aircraft, six old dismantled radars to be installed only on the Northern frontier and not on the West, snow clearing equipment, some obsolescent signal equipment, a dismantled small arms ammunition factory; engineering equipment and such like. Though an agreement was signed between Y B Chavan and Robert McNamara on June 6, 1964, promising India US$250 million credit and $250 million grant for five years, it was

> made clear that the US would not provide India with combat equipment, given Washington's sensitivity to Pakistan's concerns.
>
> (Subrahmanyam 2005)

The real foundation of India–US defense cooperation was laid down through the Kicklighter Proposals of 1991 after the end of the Cold War. These proposals enabled the first-ever military-to-military exercises between the two countries and included service-to-service exchanges and expansion of a defense cooperation framework. Another benchmark in India–US defense ties was the Agreed Minutes of Defense Relations signed in 1995 during the visit of US Defense Secretary William Perry to India. The agreed minutes envisaged defense cooperation at various levels (Malik 2006, 83–84). In order to pursue the agreed measures, a Defense Policy Group (DPG) was created. The India–US defense relationship works under an institutional mechanism led by DPG, which comprises members from both countries and meets annually to discuss potential cooperation in multiple areas related to defense and security.

The DPG has various sub-institutions for the implementation of policies decided by the group. It includes the Defense Joint Working Group, responsible for a mid-year review of cooperation progress and reviewing new matters to be discussed in the next DPG meeting; the Senior Technology Security Group, which deals with issues related to defense technology; the Defense Procurement and Production Group, which reviews matters regarding the transfer of technology; the Joint Technical Group, which deals with defense research and development programs; the Military Cooperation Group, which looks into inter-services cooperation matters; and Executive Steering Groups, which review service-to-service cooperation (Embassy of India 2011).

Though the DPG has been meeting annually since 2001, the cornerstone of India–US defense relations was laid down in 2005 with the creation of a New Framework for Defense Relations, when the two countries signed a ten-year defense cooperation pact. Under this agreement, both states agreed to develop their defense relations to a far greater extent and planned to collaborate in multilateral operations, defense trade, technology transfer, co-production, missile defense, exchange of intelligence, research, and discussions between the top leadership of both countries in defense affairs. Both states showed their commitment to collaborate and exchange viewpoints on international security affairs of common interest for the purpose of developing cooperation and promoting mutual harmony (New Framework For The US–India Defense Relationship 2005). According to the Congressional Research Service report by Kronstadt, "Since 2002, the United States and India have held numerous and unprecedented joint exercises involving all military branches" (Kronstadt 2006, 3).

These military-to-military ties are also accompanied by high-profile arms sales to India. The arms sales cooperation also includes the US's authorization of the sale of a jointly developed US–Israeli Phalcon airborne early warning system, electronic warfare, and PAC-3 anti-missile systems to India. In March 2005, the Bush administration welcomed Indian requests for information about

the F-16 or F/A-18 fighter's possible purchase in its "new strategy for South Asia" and indicated that "Washington is ready to discuss the sale of transformative systems in areas such as command and control, early warning, and missile defense" (Kronstadt 2006, 3). According to a report on the potential of US combat aircraft sales to South Asia, the US was willing to sell F-16s or F/A-18s to India (Grimmett 2006, i).

The US–India defense cooperation achieved a landmark improvement with the advent of a new phase of defense relations. According to Kronstadt, "The United States has provided about $161 million in military assistance to India since 1947, more than 90% of it distributed from 1962–1966" (Kronstadt 2006, 3), while in the most recent decade the security cooperation between the two states has extended from security assistance to joint military exercises and training. Along with this cooperation, the governments in both states have agreed to pursue commercial military sales: "The Pentagon reports military sales agreements with India worth $288 million in FY2002-FY2005" (Kronstadt, 2006, 3). Moreover, in August 2006, "New Delhi approved a $44 million plan to purchase the USS Trenton, a decommissioned American amphibious transport dock, which will become the second-largest in the Indian navy" (Kronstadt 2006, 3). According to Boettcher:

> [F]rom 2002–2009 India ranked second in overall defense trade agreements with the United States and two large deals have been inked. In 2009, India made a deal for eight Boeing P-81 maritime patrol aircraft worth $2.1 billion. In April 2010, the U.S. and India agreed on a sale of 10 Boeing C-17 Globemaster III Aircrafts. The $5.8 billion deal is the largest defense deal with India in U.S. history.
>
> (Boettcher 2010, 1–3)

Neena Shenai states that "India has purchased six Lockheed Martin C-130J Super Hercules Air lifters and the Department of Defense has notified Congress of a potential upcoming sale of 145 M777 light-weight Howitzers" (Shenai 2010).

As discussed in earlier chapters, the India–US Strategic Partnership has multiple dimensions of cooperation between the two countries, the main purpose being to enhance India's capacity to gain the status of a great power as well as achieving the US's endeavor to contain China. Both of these endeavors require Indian military modernization; therefore, India is being armed with advanced technology and military support by the US. In the context of such strategic interests, the US has granted unprecedented relaxations to India for the sale and transfer of high-tech military equipment and technology. As cited above, India has been granted Strategic Trade Authorization-1 (STA-1) status, which has enabled it to get state-of-the-art military equipment without fulfilling license requirements. According to a statement by the US secretary for commerce, Wilbur Ross, "STA-1 provides India with greater supply-chain efficiency, both for defense and for other high-tech products … and it will reduce the time and resources needed to get licensing approved" (Castelino 2019).

Discussing the hike in India–US bilateral defense trade, Alan R. Shaffer, the US deputy under-secretary of defense acquisition, stated that "US bilateral Defence trade with India, essentially zero in 2008, will reach an estimated $18 billion later this year" (Urs 2019), while in a briefing to the US Senate Armed Services Committee, Admiral Philips Davidson, commander of the US Indo-Pacific Command said:

> Defence sales are at an all-time high, with India operating the US sourced platforms such as P-8s, C-130Js, C-17s, AH-64s, CH-47s, and M777 howitzers.… Additionally, India recently agreed to a US$2.1-billion purchase of MH-60R multi-role sea-based helicopters and is considering a number of additional US systems for purchase … the US Indo Pacific Command fully supports the purchase of US systems, F-16, and F/A-18E aircraft, a reorder of 12–15 P-8Is, and a potential purchase of Sea Guardian UASs.
>
> (*Hindustan Times* 2019)

According to a report by Jane's Defense, the Defense Technology and Trade Initiative (DTTI) meeting held in March 2019 discussed the addition of aircraft support systems, lightweight arms, and unmanned air vehicles (UAVs) in bilateral defense collaboration. Ellen Lord, the US under-secretary of defense for acquisition and sustainment, said: "[T]he UAV project will be advanced by the US Air Force Research Laboratory and India's Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO), which will co-operate in drawing up a technical planning document to support the proposed development" (Grevatt 2019).

The bilateral cooperation between the two states is going on at its fastest pace, with the US completing the all legal requirements to extend high-tech defense cooperation to India. According to a report by Reuters, another agreement for the purpose, known as an "Industrial Security Agreement", required for the transfer of defense technology, is underway. It has been reported that:

> India has bought weapons worth more than $15 billion from the United States over the past decade as it seeks to replace its Russian-origin military and is in talks for helicopters, armed drones and a bigger Indian plan for local production of combat planes together worth billions of dollars.… To allow for the transfer of technology for building combat jets locally and other joint ventures, the United States had sought guarantees for the protection of classified information and technology … Lockheed Martin and Boeing are both in the race for a deal estimated at over $15 billion to supply the Indian air force with 114 fighter planes to replace its aging fleet of Mig-21 jets.
>
> (Miglani 2019)

Table 6.1 Transfers of Aircrafts from the US to India 2006–2018. Deals with Deliveries or Orders

				Year(s)			
Supplier/recipient (R)	*Ordered*	*No. designation*	*Weapon description*	*Weapon of order*	*Year of delivery*	*Of delivered*	*No. Comments*
United States							
R: India	8	P-8A Poseidon	ASW aircraft	2009	2012–2015	8	$2 b deal (offsets 30% including production of components in India); P-8I version
		6	C-130J-30 Hercules	Transport aircraft	2013	2017 (6) Probably $1.1 b deal (30% offsets including production in India of components for all future C-130J); for special forces	
		22	AH-64E Apache Guardian Combat helicopter	2015		$1.2–1.4 b deal (including production of components in India; part of $2.4 b deal)	
		4	P-8A Poseidon	ASW aircraft	2016		$1 b deal; delivery 2019/2020–2020/2021
		(6)	AH-64E Apache Guardian Combat helicopter	(2017)		Including production of components in India; selected 2017 but not yet ordered end 2018	
		6	S-61/H-3A Sea King	Transport helicopter	2006	2007 (6) Second-hand; $39 m deal; UH-3H version	

6	C-130J-30 Hercules	Transport aircraft	2008	2010–2011 (6) $962 m deal (including $596 m for aircraft and rest for special equipment; 30% offsets including production in India of components for all future C-130J); for special forces	
10	C-17A Globemaster-3	Heavy transport ac	2011	2013–2014 (10) $4.1 b deal (offsets $1.1 b)	
15	CH-47F Chinook	Transport helicopter	2015	$1 b deal (part of $2.4 b deal); CH-47F(I) version; delivery planned 2019	
1	C-130J-30 Hercules	Transport aircraft	(2016)		
1	C-17A Globemaster-3	Heavy transport ac	2017		$262 m deal; delivery planned 2019

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, July 21, 2019. Available at: http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade_register.php.

Table 6.2 Transfers of Missiles from United States to India 2006–2018. Deals with Deliveries or Orders

				Year(s)			
Supplier/recipient (R)	*Ordered*	*No. designation*	*Weapon description*	*Weapon of order*	*Year of delivery*	*Of delivered*	*No. Comments*
United States							
R: India	512	CBU-97 SFW	Guided bomb	2010	2013–2017	(512)	$258–311 m deal; CBU-105 version
		(20)	RGM-84L Harpoon-2	Anti-ship MI/ SSM	2010	2013 (20) $170 m deal; AGM-84L version for Jaguar combat aircraft	
		(32)	Mk-54 MAKO	ASW torpedo	(2011)	2013–2016 (32) $86 m deal; for P-8I ASW aircraft	
		(21)	RGM-84L Harpoon-2	Anti-ship MI/ SSM	2012	2014 (21) $200 m deal; AGM-84L version for P-8I ASW aircraft	
		(245)	FIM-92 Stinger	Portable SAM	(2013)	FIM-92 Block-1 version for AH-64 combat helicopters	
		(542)	AGM-114K HELLFIRE	Anti-tank missile	2015	AGM-114R-3 version; for AH-64 combat helicopters	
		(812)	AGM-114L HELLFIRE	Anti-tank missile	2015	AGM-114L-3 version; for AH-64 combat helicopters	
		12	RGM-84L Harpoon-2	Anti-ship MI/ SSM	2016	2018 (12) Part of £82 m deal; UGM-84L version for Type-209 submarines	
			AIM-120D AMRAAM	BVRAAM	(2018)	For NASAMS SAM systems from Norway	

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, July 21, 2019. Available at: http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade_register.php.

Table 6.3 Transfers of Military Engines from United States to India 2006–2018. Deals with Deliveries or Orders

					Year(s)			
Supplier/recipient (R)	*Ordered*	*No. designation*	*Weapon description*	*Weapon of order*	*Year of delivery*	*Of delivered*	*No. Comments*	
United States R: India	(112)	TPE-331	Turboprop	1983	1986–2011	(112)	For 56 Do-228 MP aircraft from FRG; including production in India	
		(28)	TPE-331	Turboprop	(2012)	2013–2016 (28) For 14 Do-228MP MP aircraft from FRG		
		(68)	TPE-331	Turboprop	(2015)	For 68 HTT-40 trainer aircraft produced in India; including production in India		
		6	LM-2500	Gas turbine	(1999)	2010–2012 (6) For 3 Shivalik (Project-17) frigates produced in India; possibly from Italian production line		
		4	LM-2500	Gas turbine	(2003)	For 1 Vikrant (IAC or Project-71) aircraft carrier produced in India; from Italian production line		
		24	F404	Turbofan	2007	2016–2018	(9)	$100 m deal; F404-IN20 version for 20 Tejas Mk-1 (LCA) combat aircraft produced in India

Continued

Table 6.3 continued

					Year(s)			
Supplier/recipient (R)	*Ordered*	*No. designation*	*Weapon description*	*Weapon of order*	*Year of delivery*	*Of delivered*	*No. Comments*	
		6	AE-3007	Turbofan	2008	2017–2018	(6)	For 3 ERJ-145 transport aircraft from Brazil modified in India to AEW&C aircraft
		99	F414	Turbofan	(2012)		$800–900 m deal (including 81 produced in India); for Tejas Mk-1A (LCA) combat aircraft produced in India; most assembled in India; selected but not yet ordered by end-2018	
		(6)	T-700	Turboshaft	(2015)	Spares for AH-64 combat helicopters		
		(24)	TPE-331	Turboprop	(2016)	For 12 Do-228 MP aircraft from FRG		
		(200)	F-125	Turbofan	(2018)		F-125IN version for modernization of 80 Jaguar combat aircraft; selected but not yet ordered by end-2018	

Source: SIPRI Arms Transfers Database, July 21, 2019. Available at: http://armstrade.sipri.org/armstrade/page/trade_register.php.

The bilateral defense cooperation including the transfer of arms and technology is an all-time high in the history of India–US relations. As discussed earlier, the major part of bilateral cooperation in every realm has occurred since the conclusion of strategic partnership in 2006. Therefore, a cursory list of defense-related transfers to India from the US during 2006–2018 can give a clearer picture of bilateral defense cooperation between the two states.

Harsh V. Pant, professor of international relations at King's College London, in his article titled "The American Pivot and the Indian Navy" pointed out while highlighting the importance of India–US strategic planning that:

> India is key to the US' ability to create a stable balance of power in the larger Indo-Pacific and at a time of resource constraints, it needs partners like India to shore up its sagging credibility in the region in the face of Chinese onslaught.
>
> (Pant 2015)

Similarly, Robert Boggs, professor of South Asia studies at the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies, while critically analyzing the India–US friendship and its contours, suggested the contrary argument that "the US over-estimates both India's desire to improve the relationship and the benefits doing so would bring" (Boggs 2015). The Russian international television network is also skeptical of the emerging India–US defense ties. In one of their editorials published on July 1, 2014, while analyzing the US's reaching out to the newly elected Prime Minister Modi, it was pointed out that for the sake of snooping, a pragmatic Modi might move on because the benefits of partnering with the US will always be taken with a dose of caution. As Neelam Deo, director of foreign policy think tank Gateway House, says, "India is a big country, with its own strategic objectives and imperatives and it will act on opportunities where interests converge, as it has done in the past" (RT 2014).

In June 2015, the US defense secretary, Ashton Carter, visited India and became the first US defense secretary to visit an Indian military command. In December of the same year, Manohar Parrikar became the first Indian defense minister to visit the US Pacific Command (Verma 2015). In recent years, India has conducted large joint military exercises with the US in the Indian Ocean (NDTV 2016).

The US has been practicing the signing of "four foundational" agreements with its defense partners in order to ease up military engagements with its allies. These agreements include the DTTI, the Logistics Support Agreement (LSA), the General Security of Military Information Agreement (GSOMIA), and the Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA), each with their respective significance (Panda 2016). However, the Pentagon describes these agreements as "routine instruments that the US uses to promote military cooperation with partner nations" (*National Herald* n.d.). As the officials suggest, these agreements are not prerequisite for the establishment of bilateral defense cooperation, but they help in easing up collaborative activities like refueling of

ships or aircrafts in each other's countries, and provision of relief operations in times of crisis. In addition, they also reduce the cost of carrying out such activities (Lakshman 2015).

India signed the first of the four agreements, the GSOMIA, back in January 2002, in the wake of the revival of the military relationship between the two countries by Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and Defense Minister George Fernandez. The agreement enables the sharing of military intelligence between the two countries and requires each country to protect the other's classified information (Sharma 2012). The second agreement, the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA), was signed by the two countries on August 29, 2016. The LEMOA allows forces of both countries to share each other's military bases for supplies, reinforcements, and carrying out mechanical repairs. However, there is no legal obligation which binds logistics support in either country; instead, there are separate merits for each individual request and each request concerning the matter of logistics support will have to go through the clearance procedure. Speaking on the occasion, Defense Minister Manohar Parrikar and US Defense Secretary Ash Carter said in a joint statement, "LEMOA will facilitate additional opportunities for practical engagement and exchange" (George 2016). The other two agreements are the Communications and Information Security Memorandum of Agreement (CISMOA) and the BECA for geospatial intelligence. The former set up grounds for both countries to share secure communication and exchange information on approved equipment during bilateral and multinational training exercises and operations. The latter paves the way for the exchange of unclassified and controlled unclassified geospatial products, and topographical, nautical, and aeronautical data, products and services between India and the US National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency. A detailed account of these agreements is given below.

Defense Technology and Trade Initiative (DTTI) 2012

In 2012, the US and India launched the DTTI, which is known as an essential support for defense cooperation between the two states. The US deputy secretary of defense Ashton Carter called it the "Carter Initiative", and under such initiatives Indian defense companies became able to collaborate with US companies for defense co-production. There are only eight countries with which the US has this kind of relationship. DTTI is a critical and ongoing part of India–US security cooperation. It shows that relations have matured enough that the US can trust India for technology transfer. By implication, it will contribute to boosting India in its "Make in India" program. Under DTTI, the US and India have launched seven joint working groups to explore collaborative projects and programs and signed two science and technology government-to-government project agreements—the Next Generation Protective Ensembles and Mobile Hybrid Power Sources—worth roughly $2 million (US Embassy and Consulates in India 2016).

> By participating in the co-production and co-development of UAVs, Indian industry will acquire new skills in product development, manufacturing, logistics, and marketing. The two joint-venture partners' challenge is to find concrete areas to step up cooperation in product development, manufacturing, logistics, and export marketing so that only their strategic logic sets the pace of product development, and penetration, persuasion and prosecution of their export marketing ventures.
>
> (Maitra 2019)

This was followed by the renewal of the Framework for India–US Defense Relations in June 2015" (Stobdan 2018).

Renewed Framework for India–US Defense Relations 2015

After a successful ten years of the New Framework for Defense Relations 2005, US Defense Secretary Ashton Carter and Indian Defense Minister Manohar Parrikar renewed the bilateral defense cooperation by signing the Renewed Framework for US–India Defense Relations in June 2015 (ISDA 2016). During President Obama's visit to India in January 2015, the framework of 2005 was renewed for the next ten years. Based on the same convergence of interests outlined in the 2005 framework, the importance of the defense relationship was enhanced from an "element" to a "vital pillar of engagement" between the two countries. It aimed at the identification of hurdles in defense cooperation and induction of remedial mechanisms to overcome these hurdles. Along with the revision of former commitments, some new areas were also added in the 2015 framework. The defense relationship was termed the "key component" of the bilateral relationship. The 2005 framework aimed at increasing opportunities for defense cooperation while the 2015 framework presented a confirmation of various commitments. The two states revised their commitments for military-to-military interaction, joint exercises, exchange of intelligence, regional peace and stability, counter-terrorism cooperation, nuclear non-proliferation, and strengthening the two-way defense trade, and explored cooperation related to a ballistic missile defense system.

New commitments made in the 2015 framework included supporting a "rule-based" order protecting the free flow of commerce, endorsement of the Joint Principles for Defense Cooperation 2013 (confirmation of commitments for technology transfer, co-development and co-production, including of advanced and sophisticated technology), enhancing cooperation in military training and education including instructors and students exchanges and collaboration between national defense universities, enhancement of cooperation toward maritime security, increasing each other's capability to secure the free movement of lawful commerce, and ensuring the freedom of navigation across sea lines of communication in accordance with the principles of international law.

Understanding the slow pace of bilateral defense cooperation, the 2015 framework provided a detailed mechanism to speed it up. Under the revised

mechanism, the DPG continues as the primary mechanism but it will perform supervisory functions for various sub-groups. The functions of each sub-group are properly defined now. A new Executive Steering Group was created to develop military service-related cooperation in line with the Military Cooperation Group. In order to boost the DTTI, both states have now established a DTTI Group that will also report to the DPG like the other sub-groups. It aims to resolve issues that are impeding bilateral defense cooperation, to increase the flow of technology and investment, developing capabilities for co-development and co-production, and intensifying cooperation in research and development.

India as major defense partner

After the conclusion of the New Framework for Defense Relations 2015, US Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter paid an official visit to India in April 2016, where he discussed the mutual understanding of respective defense institutions with his counterpart. Both states exchanged perspectives and discussed coordinating policy approaches in new areas, reinvigorating military-to-military engagements, launching path-breaking cooperative technology projects, and pushing bilateral defense trade to unprecedented levels. During their meeting, Indian Defense Minister Manohar Parrikar and Secretary of Defense Carter reviewed the important steps taken since the signing of the new framework for the US–India defense relationship. They discussed the priorities in defense ties for the coming year, as well as specific steps both sides will take to pursue those priorities. These include expanding collaboration under the DTTI; Make in India efforts of India's government; new opportunities to deepen cooperation in maritime security and maritime domain awareness; military-to-military relations; a knowledge partnership in the field of defense; and regional and international security matters of mutual interest (US Department of Defense 2016). Moreover, both leaders reviewed progress and reiterated their commitment to pursuing co-development and co-production of advanced defense articles under the DTTI.

In this context, they agreed to initiate two new DTTI pathfinder projects on a digital helmet-mounted display and a joint biological tactical detection system. They commended the ongoing discussions at the Jet Engine Technology Joint Working Group and the Joint Working Group on Aircraft Carrier Technology Cooperation. They also agreed to work toward greater cooperation in the field of cutting-edge defense technologies, including deepening consultations on aircraft carrier design and operations and jet engine technology. They noted the understanding reached to conclude an information exchange annex to enhance data and information sharing specific to aircraft carriers (US Department of Defense 2016). In a continuation of this visit, the US secretary of defense visited India again in December 2016. Ashton Carter in his meeting with Indian Defense Minister Parrikar said:

> Today we finalized India's designation as a "Major Defense Partner" of the United States. The designation as a "Major Defense Partner" is a status

> unique to India and institutionalizes the progress made to facilitate defense trade and technology sharing with India to a level at par with that of the United States' closest allies and partners, and ensures enduring cooperation into the future.
>
> (US Department of Defense 2016)

Due to multifarious mutual interests in the newly emerging international political environment, India and the US have come significantly closer to each other. Both states developed their relations in a short time span over the last decade to the extent that they agreed to build a "global partnership". There are further plans to develop mutual relations in high-tech areas, space, nuclear technology cooperation for civilian purposes, missile defense systems, and other key issues of defense which have persuaded them to enhance their partnership.

Foundational accords

Taking the defense relationship further required India to sign the three "foundational accords". They are meant to build the basic groundwork and promote interoperability between militaries by creating common standards and systems. They also guide the sale and transfer of high-end technologies to the states involved in defense trade with the US (Peri 2016). The first of these is the LSA, which the US signs with allies to facilitate each side's military operations including basing arrangements (Stobdan 2018). Next in line is the CISMOA—a legal framework that enables the transfer of critical, secure, and encrypted communications between weapon platforms to facilitate "interoperability" (Rosen and Jackson 2017). And the third is the BECA for sharing sensitive geospatial intelligence gathered from satellites and other space-based platforms. Technically, the signing of the LSA and CISMOA demanded access to each other's bases and integrating communications networks. Apprehensions were therefore raised that signing the CISMOA would allow the US to intrude into Indian military communication systems. Besides, the existing Russian-origin and indigenous Indian military platforms would not be compatible with CISMOA (Stobdan 2018). Moreover, the LSA was not compatible with Indian apprehensions; therefore, India demanded to amend these agreements according to Indian desires. First, the transformed version of the LSA was introduced as LEMOA and signed by the two states in 2016.

Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA) 2016

After a long period of discussions and deliberations, LEMOA was finalized between India and the US. India signed LEMOA, the first of the three foundational agreements, proposed by Washington to deepen bilateral military cooperation, with the US in August 2016 (Singh 2018). After the US recognized India as a "major defense partner", hopes arose for India to be part of vibrant

pacts which the US signed only with its close allies. Such pacts would work as catalysts for India to fulfill its dream to become the regional power. On the other hand, the US's "Pivot Asia" policy requires Indian assistance to counter China in the Asia-Pacific region; therefore, LEMOA emerged as a product of mutual interests. LEMOA provides logistics support to both the countries in four areas, which include port visits, joint military exercises, humanitarian aid, and disaster relief (Peri 2016).

The LEMOA provides both states with access to each other's land, air, and naval bases for fuel supply, restocking, repairing, and maintenance in maritime and aviation domains. The US has more than 160 military bases in different regions such as the Atlantic Ocean, Indian Ocean, Pacific Ocean, and Antarctic subcontinent, which could be beneficial for Indian strategic interests. Likewise, the US also needs Indian logistics support in the Asia-Pacific and South Asian region to facilitate its armed forces for strategic purposes (Munir 2016). According to a report in the *New York Times*, US Secretary of State Rex Tillerson had vowed to deny access to China over its artificially built islands in the South China Sea (Forsythe 2017). Keeping in view this statement, if one evaluates the India–US LEMOA, a lot of strategic implications come to mind for the regional strategic environment.

LEMOA, concluded on August 29, 2016, by the outgoing Obama administration, is another example of preferential treatment by the US of India that once again introduced discriminatory actions taken by the US to accommodate India. This is not without incentives for the US, who seeks Indian assistance in containing China. LEMOA is a logistics support agreement between India and the US that enables the US to police the Indian Ocean region from Indian ports. Although Indian Defense Minister Manohar Parrikar claimed that the agreement does not provide bases on Indian land for US troops, it is an indication of Indian intentions to play against China at the US's behest, which may culminate in the use of Indian land for the purpose of military operations against China. For the US and India, this agreement simply facilitates the two allies to use each other's logistics infrastructure, but for China and Pakistan it will have geostrategic implications.

As events unfold in the US–India bilateral relationship, both countries have renewed their framework for a defense relationship for the next ten years and the US has designated India as "Major Defense Partner". While negotiations for co-production of F-16 aircraft in India are also underway, one cannot remain naïve about the strategic intentions of the LEMOA pact. As reported, LEMOA has apparently nothing to do with the establishment of US bases in India but allows refueling and replenishment of supplies and services relating to food, water, clothing, transportation, oil, lubricants, communication, medical, training, spare parts, repair, maintenance, and ports usages. The question arises about what else is required to conduct military operations except for the provision of arms and ammunitions. Would the US require arms, ammunition, or sophisticated technology from India to conduct any military operation in the region? The answer is definitely a "No".

Another apparently innocent gesture has been shown by outlining the four primary areas of cooperation under the agreement—port calls, joint exercises, training, and humanitarian assistance—while other requirements have been left to bilateral negotiations on a case-by-case basis. Although, this provision pretends to be a peacetime cooperation arrangement, it leaves room for extension of this logistics cooperation for strategic operations. It does not rule out logistics support in the occurrence of armed conflict in the region. As claimed by the Indian defense minister, Manohar Parrikar:

> It [LEMOA] doesn't have anything to do with the setting up of a base.… It's basically logistics support to each other's fleet.… So, it will basically ensure that both navies can be supportive of each other in the joint venture operations we do, exercises we do.
>
> (Singh 2016)

US Defense Secretary Ashton Carter echoed Parrikar and stated, "It [LEMOA] is fully mutual.… It's not a basing agreement of any kind, but it does make the logistics of joint operations so much easier and so much more efficient" (Singh 2016).

Keeping in view the regional competition, it can be understood that supporting each other's navies, to make joint operations much easier and more efficient, will have ultimate strategic objectives. These strategic objectives are definitely aiming to counter China if and when needed. Keeping in view the US Asia-Pacific policy and the China–US competition in the South China Sea, the US has adequate technological resources available around the Asia-Pacific region, but lacks adequate military presence in the Indian Ocean and logistics support in the region. This is being remedied through the LEMOA pact. It should not be ignored that logistics support is a vital part of conducting war operations anywhere in the world. Therefore, LEMOA is an indication of preparation for any possible military confrontation in the Indian Ocean led by the US and assisted by India, placing India at the US's disposal by its own choice. It may, therefore, be concluded that LEMOA will contribute to strategic instability in the already fragile regional strategic environment. In its pursuit to contain China, the US is providing its utmost support to India without taking into account its implications for regional strategic stability.

The most significant aspect of this agreement is the augmentation of India's military capabilities. India will have unprecedented access to the US network of military bases, all built in strategic locations. This agreement will boost India's naval capabilities by enabling them to undertake far-seas operations, which they were unable to do previously. It will also enhance India's naval capabilities against the growing Chinese naval powers in the Indian Ocean region. With access to facilities and bases around China, India will be able to counter the Chinese "string of pearls" strategy in the Indian Ocean region (Munir 2016). Just like other areas of cooperation under the India–US Strategic Partnership, LEMOA will also contribute significantly to Indian military modernization and

operational capacity, which will be perilous for Pakistan's security, especially when there is a complete absence of bilateral dialogues and confidence-building measures.

Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA) 2018

COMCASA is the transformed version of CISMOA, created to again accommodate India through preferential treatment. During the first round of the 2+2 Dialogue, India and the US signed COMCASA in September 2018. It emerged as the important building block and success story of the dialogue process. COMCASA is a high-tech collaboration agreement between the US Defense Innovation Unit and the Indian Defense Innovation Organisation (Smith 2018). It will open up opportunities for India to import those US defense systems which were restricted before (Panda 2018a) and offers an authorized agenda for the transfer of communication security equipment from the US to India that would facilitate "interoperability" between Indian and US forces, and possibly other militaries as well that use US-origin systems for protected tactical data links (Ramaprasad 2017). The agreement will be applicable for a period of ten years and requires six months' prior notice for termination. Furthermore, the US cannot "turn off" any encoded communications systems while the pact is valid. The US also agreed in the pact that it will not share any information about Indian platforms with third parties without India's consent (Smith 2018).

COMCASA took the India–US Strategic Partnership to the next step, which empowered the two countries to work on joint threat assessment; contingency planning for joint operations; sharing of intelligence; simulations and table-top exercises as well as training exercises with troops; coordination of command, control, and communications; and planning for operational deployment and logistics support (Kanwal 2017). It also establishes hotlines between the US's secretary of state and India's external affairs minister as well as between the US secretary of defense and India's defense minister. COMCASA not only enabled India to have access to US defense communication technologies but also provides access to the US armed forces' critical communication network and real-time US intelligence (*Business Today* 2019). Implementation of COMCASA became an Indian necessity due to the clash between Indian and Chinese forces on the Dhoklam plateau in 2017. It was turning point for New Delhi, who aspired to have a pact with the US for real-time intelligence. Moreover, COMCASA became a requirement for certain things such as high-precision GPS or the latest guidance packages for US-origin air-to-air missiles (Ramaprasad 2017). By implementing COMCASA, India will gain access to US naval intelligence other than just regulating joint operations in the future. It will further aid the militaries to work in a conducive and interoperable environment, without which India previously had to rely on less-secure systems.

Through the COMCASA arrangement, both the US and India will be able to monitor enemy movements, especially in the Indo-Pacific region through

surveillance drones. If Chinese warships or submarines cross the threshold and are detected by US warships or aircraft, the US secure encrypted data will be sent to a receiver installed at the naval headquarters in New Delhi, which will get information immediately. Moreover, in times to come, COMCASA will furnish India with "advanced Sea Guardian drones, COMCASA-protected equipment like an advanced [GPS], [IFF] receiver and VHS system, which is immune to jamming and spoofing from enemies" (Smith 2018).

> [T]he agreement will allow sharing of "encrypted military intelligence" … the transfer of equipment such as armed surveillance drones … [and will] allow India to procure "specialised equipment for encrypted communications for US origin military platforms like the C-17, C-130 and P-8Is", and "enable greater communications interoperability between the militaries of India and the US".
>
> (*Dawn* 2018)

The top US admiral, Philips Davidson said that the US Indo Pacific Command is collaborating with the Indian military to operationalize the COMCASA:

> Defense sales are at an all-time high, with India operating US sourced platforms such as P-8s, C-130Js, C-17s, AH-64s, CH-47s, and M777 howitzers.… Additionally, India recently agreed to a US$2.1-billion purchase of MH-60R multi-role sea-based helicopters and is considering a number of additional US systems for purchase.
>
> (Asian Age 2019)

The first reliable communication link of COMCASA is active between the Indian naval headquarters and US Central as well as in Pacific naval commands, under the landmark India–US COMCASA pact (Samanta 2019). This will give India access to the latest US naval intelligence. According to a report in The *Economic Times*, the Selective Availability Anti-Spoofing Module GPS system in some of the Indian Air Force's C-130 and C-17 transport aircraft is also active. It will allow them to share real-time operational intelligence. The US has given assurances of not disclosing Indian data to another country, and without prior permission, the US could not access it (*Business Today* 2019). Along with these developments, the US and India are also working on a bilateral tri-service military exercise in 2019 (*Hindu* 2019b).

Countering America's Adversaries through Sanctions Act 2017 (CAASTA)

In order to put pressure on US adversaries, President Trump signed the Countering America's Adversaries through Sanctions Act in August 2017. This law imposes new sanctions on the US's main adversaries including Iran, Russia, and North Korea (US Department of Treasury 2019). The act mainly deals with

sanctions on Russian interests such as its oil and gas industry, defense and security sector, and financial institution. Section 231 of the CAASTA allows the US president to execute a minimum of 5 of the 12 listed sanctions on any group or individual if they are involved in meddling with Russia in the defense and intelligence sectors. The severe sanctions include export license restriction by the US president, who is authorized to suspend export licenses related to weaponries, dual-use, and nuclear-related items, and a ban on US investment equity or debt for the sanctioned entity.

CAASTA emerged as a serious concern for India due to its decades-long defense relations with the USSR. India may also come under such sanctions because it is buying an S-400 missile defense system from Russia. So, according to CAASTA, a state which buys weapons from the three states mentioned will also face sanctions from the US. But, here again, US polices took a U-turn when US Defense Secretary James Mattis, on April 26, 2018, advised lawmakers to grant the administration "flexible waiver authority" for Russia-related sanctions that seek to punish a third country, such as India, which makes significant military purchases from Russia (*Hindu* 2018). The US admiral warned the Trump administration that such sanctions could lead to failure in the US containing China and others states in the Asia-Pacific region. The US amended the law and offered India a special exception on buying S-400 air defense systems worth 4.5 billion dollars from Russia (Gady 2015a). India is in need of a waiver because it has already made a deal with Russia to buy different types of weaponries like S-400, Ka226T, Project 1135.6 frigates, etc. (Gady 2015a). So, if the US imposes sanctions on India, it will have an adverse impact on US national interest as well.

Strategic Trade Authorization-1 (STA-1)

STA is related to the US's export control mechanism for the purpose of regulating trade relations with other countries. It determines the terms and conditions for bilateral trade with the US and imposes licensing requirements for the trade of certain products. STA-1 is a tier of countries that are exempted from certain licensing requirements and are permitted to have direct interaction with US companies. The US has granted STA-1 status to only 37 countries in the world who are special close allies. Traditionally, the countries on the STA-1 list are members of the four export control regimes including the Nuclear Suppliers Group, Missile Technology Control Regime, Wassenaar Arrangement, and Australia Group (US Department of Commerce 2018). Since India has joined three of these major regimes, the US included India in this privileged tier in July 2018. The US's elevation of India to STA Tier-1 status has eased Indian access to advanced US technologies, especially for defense-related products (United States Department of State 2019). It is important to note that the STA-1 status has provided license exceptions to India, which makes India eligible to receive license-free dual-use exports (Kenneth 2019). Granting India such a big exception is a political signal to

China and is beneficial for US national and economic interests in the Asia-Pacific Region (Panda 2018b).

The Trump administration is looking at greater arms sales to India in order to support its defense industry. India's ambassador to the US, Navtej Singh Sarna, appreciated the development and vowed to earn the US's trust. He committed India to keeping the sensitive technology to itself (*The Statesman* 2018). STA-1 status will make it easy for Indian and US companies to trade in military hardware and civil space and defense products, along with many technological items that will not require licenses either (Bureau of Industry and Security, Commerce 2010). Approximately 50 percent of items related to defense will not require a license for sale to India, which will contribute to increasing the volume of trade in such items (FirstPost 2018). According to Richard Rossow, a senior advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, "STA-1 status opens doors for India to import goods of strategic importance including equipment like body armor and tear gas; materials related to nuclear power development; and explosives detection and disposal products" (Rossow 2018a). Removal of licensing requirements has removed strict restrictions on defense-related trade for India, which will enhance the volume of Indian purchases from the US (Rossow 2018a). But it will consequently contribute to expediting the arms race in the South Asian region. According to a report by CNBC TV18:

> Dhruva Jaishankar, Foreign Policy Fellow at Brookings India says, "For many years, the biggest constraint on India–U.S. military industrial cooperation was U.S. export control policy, which was a combination of international regimes, U.S. law, and U.S. regulation. These have gradually been amended, and India has been increasingly accommodated.
>
> (CNBC TV18 2018)

This transformation has now allowed the US and India to jump into a dual-use project related to the development of fifth-generation warfare. Such arrangements will generate great revenue for the US when India buys high-tech weapons systems like AH-64E Apache Guardian attack helicopter, armed drones, fighter jets like the F-35, and the Stealth bomber (Gady 2018). India will also have access to electronics, lasers and sensors, information security, computers and navigation, telecommunications, aerospace, etc. (Jaspal 2018). The increasing convergence of interests between the two states will make the defense trade in radars, navigation, military hardware, weapons and telecommunications as inevitable. US Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross said that the move to grant STA-1 status to India reflects its efforts to improve its own export-control regime, its adherence to multilateral export rules, and its growing status as a US defense partner (US Department of Commerce 2018). STA-1 provides India with greater supply-chain efficiency, for both defense and other high-tech products. This elevated status has affected about $9.7 billion worth of Indian goods purchases over the past seven years (FirstPost 2018).

Information Exchange Annex (IEA)

Indian and US defense technologies are in a phase where both states have settled robust relations and a series of defense pacts that are further boosting the bilateral relations. The IEA is also part of defense cooperation between the two states. Under the IEA, both states can cooperate on aircraft carrier technology. The US will help India to overcome its aviation discrepancies. In accordance with the Master Information Exchange Agreement, the US Department of Defense and India's Ministry of Defence established IEA. The scope of IEA covers the exchange of research and development information in technology areas like government employees and contractor support personnel for information and evaluation purposes only, for national defense. Under the provisions of this agreement, the states can share research and development information of mutual interest concerning specified expertise zones or categories of armaments (Agreement Between the US and India 2019).

Military Exercise RIMPAC 2018

RIMPAC, the Rim of the Pacific (Global Security 2014), is the world largest established "maritime war games" exercise. The exercise is held around one of the eight main islands in the vast Pacific Ocean, Hawaii, and in Southern California. The states which participate in it must have strong naval capabilities and excessive influence and presence in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. The biennial international war games, which are hosted and financially supported by the US, cost millions of dollars. The objective of RIMPAC is to cooperate and share data with each other about submarines, warships, and aircraft. The vital goal of this exercise is ensuring open access to important shipping lanes, and that in international waters no one state can be dominant and all sea lanes must be safe and secure for all states for navigation. RIMPAC provides a unique training opportunity designed to foster and sustain the cooperative relationships that are critical to ensuring the safety of sea lanes and security on the world's interconnected oceans.

In 1971, the four founding countries, US, Australia, Canada, and the UK, started this exercise while New Zealand and Japan regularly participate. Several observer nations are usually invited, including China, India, Mexico, the Philippines, and Russia. In 2012, Russia participated for the first time. In 2018, 26 countries, including India, became part of the world's largest international maritime warfare exercise. Twenty-five states joined with their 47 surface ships, five submarines, more than 200 aircraft, 18 national land forces, and 25,000 personnel (Indo-Pacific Defence 2018). The event continued for almost two months from June 27 to August 2, 2018. Brazil, Israel, Sri Lanka, and Vietnam took part in RIMPAC for the first time in 2018. Other countries participating in this year's exercise include Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Colombia, France, Germany, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, South Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Tonga, and the United Kingdom (Amos 2018).

Due to the ongoing power politics and trade war between China and the US, for the first time, the US humiliated China by disinviting it from RIMPAC 2018 (Gady 2017b), after it had accepted an initial invitation to join (Eckstein 2018). China called the US move unfortunate for Beijing. Pentagon spokesman Lt. Col. Chris Logan gave the reason as the continued militarization of China in the South China Sea (Eckstein 2018). He elaborated that China wanted to influence that part of the Pacific Ocean by constant militarization, which is unacceptable to the US. The Pentagon gave a statement that the disinvitation of China from RIMPAC is due to China deploying anti-ship missiles, surface-to-surface missile systems, and electronic jammers in the Spratly Island Region, which is already a disputed area.

7 Taxonomy of Pakistan–India strategic rivalry

Murray and Grimsley write, "Historical experience influences strategic choices … [and more] profoundly influence how nation-states make strategy" (Murray and Grimsley 1994, 1). Colin S. Gray said, "If we forget history, we forget all knowledge and experience" (Gray 2011). This chapter starts with a historical description of Pakistan–India rivalry, which includes different wars and crises with an analysis of the US's role in mitigating the hostility. Furthermore, it discusses strategic stability in the region and how Pakistan has maintained equilibrium to avoid an imbalance of power in different crises situations. An overview of major disputes between India and Pakistan is given to explain the complexity of enmity between the two countries. At the end, the chapter discusses, in general, efforts for confidence-building measures, adopted in a few instances for moderating mutual suspicion and building trust, which could lead to a peaceful atmosphere in the region.

History of Pakistan–India rivalry

The roots of the conflict between Pakistan and India can be traced back to the time of British rule in the unpartitioned India. The British adopted a policy of divide and rule to prolong their rule for about a century. This policy resulted ultimately in accentuating enmity between the two major religious factions in India, Hindus and Muslims. These two main factions were represented by the two major political parties in India at that time. The All India National Congress claimed to be the representative of all religious factions in India, but predominantly represented only the Hindu majority. The other major political party was the All India Muslim League, which was created for the purpose of defending the interests of Muslims and therefore was considered the major representative of Muslims in India. After World War II, the British decided to relinquish power in South Asia. They asked these two major representative parties of India to negotiate a constitutional order to run the country after their departure. Multiple efforts were made to reach a constitutional framework based on mutual consent but the endemic Hindu–Muslim rivalry and the legacy of divide and rule had created so many differences that harmony was not possible. It was impossible for the parties to reach any understanding of the

constitutional framework. Therefore, the British imposed their own plan and left India in 1947.

According to the British plan, which was prepared by the viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten, the whole of India was to be divided on the basis of the majority of the population. The Muslim-majority areas were to become Pakistan and the Hindu majority areas were to remain in India. British lawyer Cyril Radcliffe demarcated a boundary line between the two countries, which is known as the Radcliffe Award. The award did not deal with the division of India in a competent manner and left many ambiguities that caused a lot of conflicts between the newly independent states from the very first day of their independence. Discussing the politics of the Punjab Boundary Commission Award and its verdict, Pervez Iqbal Cheema writes:

> The verdict of the commissions started an intense controversy … boundary disputes have caused so many troubles and effectively impeded the advent of peace in South Asia.… For both the Pakistanis and the Indians the boundary resulting from the partition of Punjab has proved to be a source of constant headaches and periodic convulsions.
>
> (Cheema 2000)

The British left India in a very hurried manner without handling the partition process in a competent way. This had catastrophic consequences and about 3 million innocent people were killed and the other 17 million had to leave their homes (Ahsan 2003). Several other such events further soured the relationship between the two countries. Therefore, Rasul Bakhsh Rais writes, "Pakistan's anxieties and fears about India are rooted in the pre-partition communal conflict and contrasting ideas about nationalism" (Rais 2005, 144).

The distribution of financial resources left by the British was also a bones of contention. India created a lot of hurdles for Pakistan to get its rightful share from the joint succession Sterling accounts. Equally unfair to Pakistan was the division of military assets (Cheema 2002, 17–19). However, the key foundation of the conflict between the two countries is the dispute over Kashmir. At the time of partition, all princely states were to decide for themselves whether to join Pakistan or India. Many states took their decision on the basis of two factors, religious majority and geographical proximity. According to a country report by the US Library of Congress:

> Although almost all of these states made a quick choice but several delayed; one of these was Hyderabad, with a predominantly Hindu population and a Muslim ruler who did not want to accede to India. Hyderabad was a landlocked state in the south of India, and Indian military intervention was used to include it into India while the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir (usually referred to as Kashmir), however, had a Hindu ruler and boundaries with both Pakistan and India. Although Muslims constituted a majority of the state's population, the Hindu-Sikh community made up the

> majority in the province of Jammu, and Buddhists predominated around Ladakh.
>
> (US Library of Congress 2008)

A large part of Kashmir was occupied by India in contrast with the case of Hyderabad. The creation of Pakistan was brought in by the division of mainland British India; therefore, it undoubtedly created great unrest in the minds of Hindu nationalists, who considered it against the efforts they made for independence.

Hasan Askri Rizvi writes, "Most Indians, especially the policymakers, reluctantly accepted the creation of Pakistan with a hope that the new state might collapse, making it possible for the separated territories to return to India" (Rizvi 2002, 308–309). Keeping in view the intentions of the Indian leadership, the Pakistani leadership emphasized their separate identity as a Muslim nation and reacted sharply against any perceived threat from India. Discussing Pakistan's strategic culture, Rizvi writes, "[Pakistan's] greatest fear was the collapse of the state due to either internal disorder caused by the process of partition, killings, and mass migrations, or India's non-cooperative attitude toward Pakistan in the early years of independence" (Rizvi 2002, 308–309). On the other side, Indians consider that Pakistan has severely damaged Indian national objectives. First of all, Pakistan caused the disintegration of India that upset the natural geographic unity of the region. Moreover, Pakistan has emerged as a military threat to India in such a manner that has challenged the regional hegemony of India. Ashley Tellis describes India's point of view:

> Pakistan has complicated Indian efforts at unifying its diverse regional, linguistic, and cultural subgroups by serving as a source of both material assistance and ideational inspiration for various separatist claims; therefore, it forced India to allocate economic and military resources to consolidate its political primacy within the South Asian region when it could well have otherwise been allocating such resources to pursue a larger extra-regional and, perhaps, even a global role.
>
> (Tellis 2002, 224)

Keeping in view Indian ambitions to acquire regional hegemony, the Pakistani leadership always showed its strong concerns about the possibility of any commanding role for India in South Asia. According to Scott D. Sagan:

> A long-cherished and often unstated goal of India's leadership model asserts that a strong and powerful India capable of projecting its power in the region and outside is a guarantee of security and stability of the whole of South Asia.
>
> (Sagan 2000, 30)

Regarding their role in regional affairs, the Indians demand a hegemonic status in the region. Indian policymakers want any transaction between the states

in South Asia to have Indian approval before any agreement. Indians assume that they have the right to regulate all security and foreign policies in the region. No state must pursue a policy of its own choice against India's security imperatives. George Tanham describes what New Delhi wants:

> the role as the guarantor of regional security and stability, the neighboring states must coordinate their foreign policy with the imperatives of India's centrality and security, they reject any outside power supplying weaponry to or establishing a military presence in any neighboring state.
>
> (Tanham 1992)

Moreover, India pursues a policy of rejecting the role of any international organization or outside power in the conduct of bilateral relations between it and the other states in South Asia. It is also notable that some scholars and government circles in India argue that "India reserves the right to intervene in the domestic problems of the bordering states if these have implications for India's security, including internal consolidation" (Chadda 1997).

Pakistan–India relations worsened from the very early period of independence. The Indian occupation of Kashmir, problems related to religious minorities, disputes over river waters, deployment of Indian forces at the Punjab border, suspension of trade in 1950, and finance and property issues enhanced distrust in Pakistan. India never addressed these issues in a serious manner. Consequently, it was perceived in Pakistan that India wanted to jeopardize its independence as a new state in the very initial period of its independence. The non-serious behavior of the Indian leadership convinced the Pakistani establishment that India could emerge as a major threat to the survival of Pakistan; therefore, India must be taken strictly into Pakistan's strategic calculations (Rizvi 2002, 308–309). Keeping in view the strategic concerns about Indian development as a regional power in South Asia, Pakistan has always rejected an India-dominated security system in the region. Describing the nature of the animosity between the two countries, Zehra writes, "The strong overtly violated 'rules' while the weak covertly and deceptively conducted affairs … Both created an 'underworld' of death, destruction, and dangerous divides … Behind the handshakes of smiling heads of States were distrusting hearts and suspicious minds" (Zehra 2003). While analyzing Pakistan's strategic culture, Hassan Askari Rizvi writes:

> Pakistan advocates a pluralist power model, which emphasizes the principle of sovereign equality of all states, respect for each other's national sensitivities and recognition of the right of each state to freely conduct its foreign and domestic affairs. Regional security parameters should evolve through dialogue and mutual accommodation rather than one state imposing its national priorities.
>
> (Rizvi 2002, 308–309)

Major disputes

Along with fears of insecurity, Pakistan and India also have disputes on several issues of key importance in their bilateral relations and have even contributed to intensifying the relations to the extent of wars. Some of them can be termed as major disputes with regards to their relevant position on the relationship map of the nuclear rivals in South Asia. A brief description of these major disputes and their relevance to Pakistan's security concerns will provide a good understanding of Pakistan's security spectrum.

Kashmir

The major source of confrontation between Pakistan and India has always been the dispute over Kashmir. Both countries have been entangled in various wars and near-war crisis situations due to their divergent claims over Kashmir. Scholars from both sides also consider Kashmir as the major source of confrontation. Gaynesh Kudaisya and Tai Yong Tan have described it "as a source of persistent low-level cross-border conflict and as the subject of protracted negotiations between the two states, Kashmir remains the key agenda in India–Pakistan relations" (Tan and Kudaisya 2000, 217). Jeff Hay describes Kashmir as "one of the most unfortunate legacies of the arbitrary boundaries that divided the Indian subcontinent in 1947" (Hay 2006, 2–6). Since independence from British rule, the Kashmir conflict has been pivotal in the bilateral relations of the two countries.

The genesis of the Kashmir conflict lies in the mismanaged partition process of the subcontinent by the departing British rule. Sumantra Bose described Kashmir as a "by-product of the partition of the subcontinent" (Bose 2007). According to the plan of partition, the princely states were given the option to join either Pakistan or India as per their will. At that moment, Kashmir, despite having a dominant Muslim population, was ruled by a Hindu ruler, Hari Singh. Sumantra Bose claims about Singh's intentions that:

> he seemed to be inclined toward negotiating with the Pakistani leadership to preserve his throne and privileges, rather than with Indian Congress leaders, whose disdain for the princely rulers was widely known; but a modus vivendi between the subcontinent's Muslim state and Kashmir's Hindu autocrat failed to materialize.
>
> (Bose 2007)

Eric Margolis explains that:

> Kashmiri Muslims, who overwhelmingly desired to join Pakistan, were ordered to surrender their arms, and promptly revolted. In September 1947, in the southern Kashmir regions of Poonch and Jammu, which had and still have sizeable Hindu majorities, mobs of Hindus and Sikhs, aided by the Maharaja's Sikh soldiers, began slaughtering Muslims.
>
> (Margolis 2001, 66)

Fearing Singh's decision to accede to India against the will of the Muslim population:

> Muslims near the cities of Poonch and Muzaffarabad, many of whom spoke Punjabi, rebelled, and their leaders called for union with Pakistan. This sparked popular support in Pakistan itself, as tribal members from Muslim Pashtun areas in Pakistan's North West Frontier Province sought to aid their Muslim brethren against the Maharaja's forces.
>
> (Byman 2005, 158)

The panicked Maharaja of Kashmir called for Indian help to dislodge the freedom movement and acceded to India in reward. He wrote a letter to Mountbatten and said:

> With the conditions obtaining at present in my State and the great emergency of the situation as it exists, I have no option but to ask for help from the Indian Dominion. Naturally, they cannot send the help asked for by me without my State acceding to the Dominion of India. I have accordingly decided to do so, and I attach the instrument of accession for acceptance by your Government.
>
> (Singh 1947)

In response to Singh's letter, Indian forces were ordered to help the Maharaja's forces against the rebels. However, according to Jeff Hay, "Mountbatten did so only on the condition that a vote is held; he wanted Kashmir's people to decide themselves whether they were to be Indian or Pakistani" (Hay 2006). Mountbatten replied to Hari Singh:

> In consistence with their policy that in the case of any State where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State. It is my Government's wish that, as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and its soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people.
>
> (Mountbatten 1947)

Moreover, Mountbatten already had insisted categorically that "a decision to accede to either India or Pakistan must be on the basis of two considerations: the location of their fief in relation to the territories of the two emergent sovereign polities, and the preferences of their population of subjects" (Bose 2007). Margolis notes: "Mountbatten advised that the Kashmiri majority be allowed to choose their own allegiance and Nehru publicly promised to respect their wishes, but in the end, both advice and promises were ignored" (Margolis 2001, 66).

Although these letters are considered the cornerstone of Indian claims regarding the accession of Kashmir to India, the originality of the letters has been declared doubtful by Alastair Lamb in his well-known work on Kashmir. Lamb considers the instrument of accession as a false document because the dates are contradictory to the circumstantial shreds of evidence (Lamb 1991, 137). The government of Pakistan also considers the instrument of accession a fraudulent document that was engineered by the Indian government. Objecting to the Indian claim on Kashmir, the official website of Pakistan's foreign office states: "This claim was made on the basis of a fraudulent instrument of accession" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Pakistan 2011). The act of accession by the Maharaja was not acceptable to Pakistan. Despite having meager resources, Pakistan fought the war with India against the forced accession. Despite Indian forces in Kashmir, Pakistan succeeded in capturing many areas of Kashmir. Dissatisfied with the performance of the Indian troops, Singh wrote a letter to Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel and complained about the failures of Indian forces:

> The military situation as you know has been quite depressing since the arrival of Indian troops. Except for the first gains in the Kashmir Valley, there has been a debit balance throughout so far as achievements are concerned. The Indian troops arrived in the Valley on 27 October. At that time we were in possession of about 3/4th of Poonch and the whole of Mirpur district. We had by then lost only small bits of Poonch and Muzaffarabad district. After the recapture of Baramulla and Uri, there has been a standstill. Two months have passed and the Indian troops are still at Uri. They attempted a venture to the town of Poonch and though they reached it was at great cost and the road was eventually lost. In the Poonch Jagir which was held by the State troops inch by inch, we had to withdraw and eventually lost the whole of the Jagir except the town itself where about 40,000 people are besieged along with 4 battalions (3 State and 1 Indian). The situation is by no means satisfactory.
>
> (Singh 1948)

Pakistani advancement in the area and the repeated failure of the Indian Army brought India to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). India made a complaint in the UNSC against Pakistan, which brought international attention to the dispute. The United Nations passed various resolutions for the settlement of the dispute through a plebiscite and declared that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite. Victoria Schofield mentions:

> The recommendations of the United Nations, formulated into three resolutions passed in 1948 and 1949, also formalized the presence of a third party into the debate: the wishes of the people who lived in the land over which India and Pakistan were fighting. All three resolutions recommended that India and Pakistan should proceed with holding a plebiscite, as already

> agreed by the Governments of India and Pakistan so that the people themselves could decide their future.
>
> (Schofield 2003, xii)

Although several guarantees were given to ensure the decision of Kashmir's accession to either side through a plebiscite in accordance with the will of the people living there, the matter was put into a stalemate due to contending demands from both India and Pakistan. The UN resolutions never saw accomplishment due to India's delaying tactics; therefore, the countries went to war with each other over Kashmir again in 1965, 1990, and 1999. Discussing the contending demands from both India and Pakistan, Jeff Hay notes:

> The Indian Prime Minister Nehru demanded that before any vote takes place, the Pathans withdraw from "Free Kashmir". His Pakistani counterpart, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, demanded that both the Pathans and Indian forces elsewhere leave Kashmir at the same time, but neither backed down. Even though the guns had stopped firing temporarily, the underlying issues lay unresolved, and Mountbatten's vote never took place.
>
> (Hay 2006)

Different solutions have been suggested at different times but most of these solutions are either impractical or unacceptable to India and Pakistan. Of these, the one that Pakistan would opt for is a plebiscite, as required by the UNSC resolutions. India, however, considers this option irrelevant and outdated on the basis of the *Rebus Sic Stantibus* doctrine (a treaty can be terminated on the basis that the facts and conditions upon which it was based have changed to a substantial degree).

Basically, India views the pledge that was made in 1948 as void due to the fundamental change of circumstances since the agreement (Glahn 1992, 588). Navnita Behera describes the Kashmir conflict "as an immutable zero-sum test of India's and Pakistan's legitimating ideologies, in which one's validity invalidates the other's, which in turn precludes the possibility of any reconciliation" (Behera 2006, 1). On the other hand, Nicolas Blarel comments that "[f]rom the start, the Kashmir dispute symbolized the competition of myths of nation-building and of legal interpretations of the accession and the UN resolutions" (Blarel 2008, 138). The complexity of the claims from both Pakistan and India over Kashmir has resulted in the congenitally flawed relationship between the two countries. The dispute is still unresolved and has become the major source of nuclear danger in South Asia.

Siachen

This conflict revolves around differences over boundary demarcation. Since their independence, Pakistan and India have had divergent claims over different territories. The first agreement regarding territorial divisions was

reached at the end of the 1948 war between the two states. A cease-fire line (CFL) was established under the Karachi Agreement on January 1, 1949. Assuming the glacier area is non-inhabitable, the CFL decision was left ambiguous in the agreement. Enunciating the CFL areas, Clause 2(d) mentions that "from Dalunang eastwards, the ceasefire line will follow the general line point 15495, Chalunka (on the Shyok river), Khor, thence north to the glacier" (Karachi Agreement for Cease-fire Line 1949). Wright describes, "At the meeting in Karachi in 1949 to draw up a ceasefire line between Indian and Pakistani forces, its status was left undefined. No one imagined that it could ever be a flashpoint" (Wright 2007). Robert Karniol considers that "[t]he line's extension to cover the glacier and its approaches, couched in vague language, was left for later discussion" (Karniol 2008).

After the Karachi Agreement, Pakistan and India fought two more wars, which also ended with some agreements. The 1965 war ended with the Tashkent Declaration, which decided the withdrawal of troops in accordance with the 1949 CFL. The 1971 war also ended in the same fashion with the Simla Agreement, but it converted the CFL into the line of control (LoC). From the Karachi Agreement of 1949 to the Simla Agreement of 1972, no attempt was made to clarify the differences about the actual control over the Siachen territory. The dispute started with the Indian military deployments at the Saltoro Range in 1984 and the blockade of two northern passes, Sia La and Bilafond, in 1984. There was no military deployment in the area prior to 1984. Anticipating the occupation of more territories, Pakistan responded with the deployment of military forces to counter Indian aggression. Discussing the strategic importance of Siachen for Pakistan, Khalid Khokhar writes, "[T]he Indian occupation of Siachen Glacier threatens the Karakorum Highway (the old 'Silk Route'), which is a lifeline-road linking Pakistan to China at the Khunjerab Pass" (Khokhar 2012). Cohen has noted:

> Neither side ever maintained a permanent presence in the region, nor was Siachen touched by the wars of 1965 and 1971. India's interest began to grow in the late 1970s. After the Simla Agreement, the Indian government began to view the line of control as a more or less permanent border, which did not prevent it from nibbling away at the Pakistani positions as in Siachen.
>
> (Cohen 2001, 204)

The so-called strategic importance of the Siachen occupation for India is described by Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, who writes:

> Why the Indian military did occupy the area and established military foothold? The answer to this question primarily revolves around denying perceived advantage to the Pakistanis … Some Indian also felt that it would not only strengthen the defenses of Leh but could also give strategic advantage to India.
>
> (Cheema 2007)

For Pakistan, the strategic significance of Siachen as a source of water to the Indus River is stated in a report about the facts of the Siachen issue. The report mentions:

> The glacier's melting waters are the main source of the Nubra River, which drains into the Shyok River. The Shyok, in turn, joins the Indus River. The glacier's melting waters are a major source of the river Indus, a vital water source.
>
> (Facts on Siachen Issue 2006)

The divergent interpretation on both sides led each to pursue their respective claims over the area, which ultimately resulted in self-centered interpretation by both Pakistan and India that led to the generation of conflict in 1984. Cohen writes, "It is located in the disputed Kashmir region and is claimed by India and Pakistan. It is in an area where the 'line of control' had not been demarcated or even agreed upon" (Cohen 2001, 204). Gillian Wright states:

> Engagement over it has remained a dilemma for both India and Pakistan. Since 1984, the snow-warriors of India and Pakistan have been locked in supremacy for the control of Siachen glacier. This magnificent and terrible terrain was hardly known before Independence.
>
> (Wright 2007)

Discussing the viewpoints of both Pakistan and India over the Siachen territory, Robert Karniol writes:

> Islamabad has since held that the demarcation line should continue northeast from this point to the Karakoram Pass (KKP), maintaining the angle set by the LoC. New Delhi's view is that it should veer north along the watershed line of the Saltoro Range to Indira Col, an interpretation based on terrain features. This discrepancy defines the disputed territory.
>
> (Karniol 2008)

Presenting Pakistan's viewpoint, Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema writes:

> India forcibly occupied sections of the Siachen glacier which was under Pakistani control in 1984 in violation of both the 1949 Karachi Agreement as well as the 1972 Simla Accord. The Simla Agreement clearly says that neither side shall seek to alter (LOC) it unilaterally irrespective of mutual differences and legal interpretations. Hence the occupation of certain heights in 1984 was a blatant violation of the Simla Accord.… The records indicate that during the 70s and 80s many mountaineering expeditions climbed Siachen heights via Pakistan. While all such expeditions sought permission from the Pakistani authorities, no objections were raised by the Indians then. Even an Indian mountaineering expedition secured permission from the

> Pakistanis. Most of the maps published in the Western magazines depicted the area as part of Pakistani controlled.
>
> (Cheema 2007)

Describing the Indian view, a report by the Sandia research laboratory mentions:

> Although, the demarcated portion of the LoC ends at NJ 9842, by 1970s several world atlases had begun showing the LoC running in a northeasterly direction from NJ 9842 toward the KKP. Pakistani maps also began to show the LoC heading in a straight line from NJ 9842 to the KKP, implying that territory north of the line was under Pakistan's control. Indian suspicions were raised, and the government called this "cartographic aggression" on Pakistan's part.
>
> (Asad Hakeem 2007, 16)

The report cited above entails detailed illustration of claims by both the states through maps. (For further understanding the Sandia National Laboratories Report: Demilitarization of Siachen Glacier: Implementing and Monitoring Process by Brig (retd) Gurmeet Kanwal and Brig. (retd) Asad Hakeem is recommended.)

Robert Karniol explores that:

> [a]n initial series of military mountaineering expeditions [by Indians] led to summer camps being set up in 1983. Pakistani protests were ignored, and Indian forces advanced unexpectedly in April 1984 to gain control of the glacier and its approach routes.
>
> (Karniol 2008)

Cohen has also mentioned the Indian occupation of the area and states:

> In 1984, the northern area commander of Indian Army, Lieutenant General M.L. Chibber, moved units of the Indian army across the Siachen Glacier, occupying posts that had been earlier controlled by the Pakistan Army. This led to Pakistani response, heavy fighting, and an eventual stalemate over control of the glacier.
>
> (Cohen 2001, 204)

India and Pakistan have been fighting over control of the area for the last 35 years. According to a report published in 2008:

> Both sides agree hundreds of lives have been lost, mostly due to the extreme cold and high altitude rather than in combat. More than 7,000 Indian troops and 4,000 Pakistani soldiers are still deployed in the area, according to military experts.
>
> (Global Security 2008)

Describing the invasion of Siachen as a manifestation of Indian desires to gain regional dominance, Cohen in a chapter on Indian military in his book on India states:

> Indian military activism started before the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1984 … From her perspective, the forces against India's role as a great power and dominant power in South Asia (Pakistan, China, and the United States) were united. Therefore, she began to use Indian intelligence services for covert actions in different matters in the region and one of them was the approval of the Siachen military operation.
>
> (Cohen 2001, 204)

The conflict over the Siachen glacier can be seen as a symbol of ego in the rivalry between India and Pakistan. It shows the intensity of the rivalry between the two states, paying huge cost not only in terms of economic burden but also in the shape of heavy human loss. Forces on both sides are less vulnerable to each other and more to the weather conditions. According to a work by Samina Ahmad and Varun Sahni, "[O]nly 3 percent of the Indian casualties have been caused by hostile firing; the remaining 97 percent have fallen prey to the altitude, weather, and terrain" (Ahmed and Sahni 1998, 10). Quoting a Pakistani officer stationed at Siachen, Samina and Varun write, "Pakistani troops are stationed on steep slopes, exposed to harsh weather. As a result, the main causes of Pakistani casualties are treacherous crevasses and ravines, avalanches, high altitude pulmonary and cerebral edema, and hypothermia" (Ahmed and Sahni 1998, 10). Most of the economic cost is spent on logistical support and fighting with the harsh cold atmosphere, while the majority of deaths or casualties are caused by frostbite rather than bullets. An English fortnightly on Jammu and Kashmir writes that "[i]ts inhospitable terrain has taken a heavy toll of men and resources on both sides. Fiction and folklore have become mingled with Siachen warfare" (*Kashmir Sentinel* 1999).

However, despite the huge drain on resources and human cost, the conflict over Siachen still has not been resolved. India's Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, on a visit to the glacier, ruled out giving up India's claim to the area and asserted: "We feel these boundaries are important, not only for our security, but it relates to the country's prestige also" (BBC News 2005). On the other hand, despite the conflict having a lower cost as compared to India, Pakistan, as part of confidence-building measures, has given to India a detailed and comprehensive package to resolve the conflict over Siachen. Foreign Minister Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri said, "It is for India to seriously consider this matter; the 26-year issue should now be resolved" (Global Security 2008). Although several efforts have been made to resolve the conflict using various formulas, from demilitarization to the proposals for a Peace Park, none have come to fruition.

Sircreek

The Sircreek dispute is a dispute between Pakistan and India over a boundary that reportedly has a good number of fisheries, as well as oil and gas resource potential. Quddsia Akhlaque writes: "The disputed coastal strip off Gujarat coast is said to be rich in oil and natural gas" (Akhlaque 2005). Because of the dispute over the boundary line, both states are unable to exploit the benefits of the Exclusive Economic Zone and are deprived of its contiguous zones as well. Discussing losses due to the dispute, Gaurav Rajen writes,

> It is not possible for India and Pakistan to distinguish between their territorial waters (the zone up to 12 nautical miles, where states enjoy exclusive rights and can restrict passage of foreign boats), their contiguous zones (up to 24 nautical miles, where states can enforce custom and fiscal laws, fisheries laws and ban acts prejudicial to the state) or their Exclusive Economic Zones (up to 200 nautical miles extendable to 350 nautical miles for countries with continental shelf).
>
> (Rajen 2001)

Sircreek is a 96-kilometer strip between the Pakistani Sind province and the Indian state of Gujrat. Misrathe writes, "There are 17 creeks of the Sindh coast. The Sircreek is the seventeenth. These creeks used to be the main distributaries of the River Indus" (Misrathe 2000).

The two countries have divergent claims over the demarcation of the boundary line in the seventeenth creek of Sind Coast. Pakistan claims that the boundary must be demarcated along the eastern edge of the Creek while India demands demarcation from the middle. Rasheed Ahmad Khan notes:

> Pakistan and India have adopted rigid positions on the dispute because the dividing line over the Sircreek would determine the extent of maritime boundaries in the Arabian Sea. The land boundary's general course of direction on the land leading up to the coast can make a difference of hundreds of square nautical miles when stretched into the sea as a divider between Pakistani and Indian zones.
>
> (Khan 2007)

The divergent claims over the Sircreek have been illustrated through a map in a report by BBC News, "Sir Creek Talks Start in Pakistan", which can be accessed for better understanding (BBC News 2005). Since the dispute emerged, several efforts have been made to reach some settlement but because of the lack of trust, suspicion, and the so-called matter of prestige for India, who assumes itself to be regional power, the dispute is still unresolved.

Water Disputes

The dispute over water resources is one of the most prominent flashpoints in the adversarial relationship between Pakistan and India. Pakistan, being an agrarian

society, is faced with a dire scarcity of water due to Indian power projects in Indian-held Kashmir. Pakistan has shown its concerns regarding water security on many occasions but was never entertained by India, who has continued the building of projects on disputed water resources. Negotiations are always conducted, but they end in stalemate. The intensity of water disputes between the two countries can be assessed by the emergence of voices in Pakistan to prepare for a war with India for water. Quoting Ayaz Amir, a renowned Pakistani columnist, a fact file prepared by a Pakistani think tank remarked, "Insisting on our water rights with regard to India must be one of the cornerstones of our foreign policy. The disputes of the future will be about water" (Noor-ul-Haq 2010).

Describing the significance of the water issue between the two countries, the *New York Times* wrote, "The Rivers that traverse Punjab, Pakistan's most populous province and the heart of its agriculture industry, are the country's lifeline, and the dispute over their use goes to the heart of its fears about its larger, stronger neighbor" (Polgreen and Tavernise 2010). Another report by daily the *Independent* mentions:

> The crisis in the agricultural heartland of Pakistan relates to the Chenab, one of a series of waterways that bisect the Punjab, which means "five rivers". The Chenab is fed with glacial-melt waters from the Himalayas and for centuries has provided crucial irrigation for the region.
>
> (Buncombe 2009)

In recent days, the dispute over water has become a major irritant in mutual relations of the two countries. Even the minister for power and energy accused India of being the principal actor in the energy shortage in Pakistan for not releasing water to Pakistani water reservoirs. The dispute over water also entails security concerns for Pakistan. Noor-ul-Haq writes that "the Chenab canal network in Pakistan is the first line of defense against India's conventional attack. If these canals are dried up, they would afford easier passage for an infantry-armor assault, adversely affecting the defense of the country" (Noor-ul-Haq 2010).

Like all other disputes between the two countries, the roots of the water dispute are also found in the partition of British India. Indian occupation of Kashmir in 1948 provided India with an opportunity to obstruct water supplies to Pakistan by capturing the areas that are the source of water to Pakistan's rivers. The dispute started for the first time when India stopped water delivery to canals in Pakistan on April 1, 1948. According to a report, "[T]his act was publicly criticized in Pakistan and some policy and non-policy makers even advocated for going to war to restore the water supply from the river Sutlej to West Punjab" (Ranjan 2010). However, after tough negotiations between the two countries, an agreement was reached on May 4, 1948, known as The Delhi Agreement, which concluded with recognition of the necessity to resolve the problem in a friendly manner. Though the agreement did not resolve all the

issues, it provided a temporary arrangement until the conclusion of the Indus Water Treaty (IWT) in 1960. According to the IWT, three rivers are for the use of Pakistan:

> The Indus River originates in Chinese-controlled Tibet and flows through Jammu and Kashmir. The Chenab: originates in India's Himachal Pradesh state, travels through Jammu and Kashmir. The Jhelum: rises in Jammu and Kashmir and flows into Pakistan, finally joining Chenab. The Treaty affords India the use of the following three rivers: The Sutlej: originates in Tibet, flows through Himachal Pradesh and Punjab before joining the Chenab. The Beas and the Ravi: originates in Himachal Pradesh state and flows into Pakistan, emptying into the Chenab.
>
> (Ahmad 2009)

Pia Malhotra writes:

> Under the Indus Water Treaty, Pakistan has to receive 55,000 cusecs of water, but authorities there complain that this year Pakistan's share was drastically reduced, causing damage to crops. They claim that Pakistan only received around 13,000 cusecs during the winter and a maximum of 29,000 cusecs during the summer. This averages around 22,000 to 25,000 cusecs—less than half of Pakistan's share.
>
> (Malhotra 2009)

Since India are planning a lot of projects to be built on Pakistani rivers, they can be strategically harmful to Pakistan's existence. Noor-ul-Haq writes:

> These can cause major water shortages in Pakistan in times to come. Also, these can be used to hold back water in days of scarcity or flood the country during excess flows. The natural flow of water is essential for Pakistan's agricultural economy and a willful obstruction thereof has a potential for serious conflict between the two states. The IWT does not allow India to obstruct the flow of the river by storing or diverting the water.
>
> (Noor-ul-Haq 2010)

On the other hand, the famous water expert Briscoe, serving at Harvard University, has estimated that "if India builds all its planned projects, it could have the capacity of holding up about a month's worth of river flow during Pakistan's critical dry season, enough to wreck an entire planting season" (Polgreen and Tavernise 2010). An Indian scholar has criticized both Pakistan and India as responsible for creating chaos over water usage. Ranjan writes:

> Both India and Pakistan are equally responsible for damaging the spirit of the IWT. Pakistan wastes 35 percent of the water in its system. India is at

> fault because it causes misery when crucial spigots run dry because upstream water is stored at sowing season in Pakistan.
>
> (Ranjan 2010)

Like all other disputes, water issues are also reaching a stalemate that continues to instigate adversarial gestures on both sides. It is feared that if the dispute over water remains stagnant and Pakistan's concerns are not addressed, Pakistan will be forced to adopt an offensive posture for the sake of survival.

Major wars and crises

Due to unfriendly relations and multiple security imperatives, Pakistan and India have confronted each other in many conflicts which sometimes created great crises and sometimes violent armed conflicts. The most violent outbreaks came in 1947–1948, 1965, 1971, and 1999.

The 1947–1948 war

The first war was fought over Kashmir in 1947 when Muslim subjects revolted against the Dogra forces in Kashmir. At the time, the Hindu Maharaja of Kashmir appealed to the Indian government for interference and help against the revolt, and showed his intention to accede to India as an incentive (Singh 1947). At the crossroad, India sent its forces quickly to occupy the entire Jammu and Kashmir territory (India Pakistan Wars 2008). The Kashmiri struggle was strongly supported by the tribals, principally Pathans at that moment. Indian forces were summoned to counter the rebellion and defend the state's borders against the tribal attack when Pathans came to save the independence of their Muslim brethren. According to a country report by the US Library of Congress, "India's 161st Infantry Brigade was deployed and thwarted the advances of the tribal forces; despite early successes, the Indian army suffered a setback in December because of logistical problems" (Indo-Pakistani Conflict of 1947–48 2008). This provided an opportunity for the revolting forces in Kashmir to mount pressure on Indian forces to retreat. In 1948, Indian forces again made an offensive attack on Kashmir and tried to get back the ground they had lost.

At this time, Pakistani forces became actively involved in defending Kashmir. Now, the conflict was escalated into a proper war between Pakistan and India. An analysis of the Kashmir war by the US Library of Congress in its country report suggests, "As the conflict escalated, the Indian leadership was quick to recognize that the war could not be brought to a close unless Pakistani support for the Azad Kashmir forces could be stopped" (India: A Country Study 2008). Due to Pakistani advances, supported by the natives, and control over a lot of area in Kashmir, the Indian government decided to bring the matter to the United Nations (Text of India's Complaint to the UN Security Council regarding Jammu and Kashmir 1948) under Article 35 of the UN Charter. The war was brought to an end on January 1, 1949, when a truce was declared

through mediation by the United Nations (India Pakistan Wars 2008). India promised to conduct a plebiscite in the disputed area but never fulfilled its commitments. Over three thousand soldiers died on both sides and the dispute over Kashmir remained unsettled (India: A Country Study 2008). Both countries came to their first armed conflict over Kashmir within the very initial days of their independence from British rule. In the opinion of Onkar Marwah:

> The India–Pakistani imbroglio, resulting from communal tensions unresolved in history, is akin to an internationalized civil war; India began with a rough two to one superiority of armed strength over Pakistan, the early strategic interaction with the latter did not rest on any formal security analyses other than that Pakistan was the smaller state with a smaller army and a limited range of options in any military situation; however, communal antipathy did create a certain perceptual distance between the two states as regards their views of each other and about themselves.
>
> (Marwah 1979, 551)

In order to curtail Pakistan's pressure on Kashmir, India tried to apply pressure on the western borders of Pakistan through signing a treaty of friendship with Afghanistan, the potential claimant of some areas of the newly born state of Pakistan. In response to such maneuvers by India, Pakistan made a mutual security pact with the US in 1954. Friendship with the US equipped Pakistan with free access to obtain arms and enhance the capability of its armed forces. According to Onkar Marwah, cooperation with the US made Pakistan's attack formations superior to those of India. Marwah said:

> Not willing to accept arms gratis from abroad in line with its developing nonalignment posture, India scrambled for purchases of weapons to counter the new Pakistani threat; despite purchases, however, India's armored strength remained below that of Pakistan up to I965.
>
> (Marwah 1979, 551)

However, India's friendship treaty with Afghanistan compelled Pakistan to seek foreign military assistance due to fear of getting sandwiched between the two potential rivals. It also became apparent that India tried to use Afghanistan from the very early days of its independence as a strategic advantage over Pakistan, which is going to be repeated in the current South Asian strategic environment.

The 1965 war

One of the pioneering efforts to explain the origins of the India–Pakistan conflicts was written by Sisir Gupta who holds that "the major elements of the conflict are the images that India and Pakistan had created of themselves on the eve of partition" (Gupta 1966, 440). The underlying social forces that fueled the India–Pakistan conflict first came to the fore over the status of Kashmir. As

the 1947–1948 war failed to resolve their disputes satisfactorily, it continued to energize the feelings of hostility and distrust between the two states. Brines cites these mutual fears as the underlying source of the India–Pakistan conflict in his study of the 1965 war (Brines 1968, 5–8). The 1965 war was fought over Kashmir and was undeclared like that of 1948. The war broke out because of a number of skirmishes that occurred from April to September 1965. It was an important year in the history of Pakistan as Ayub Khan, a military dictator, won a presidential election against Fatima Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan's sister. Claims were made that the elections were rigged and this was seen as an act of dishonesty by Khan, hampering the legitimacy of his rule.

In an effort to achieve popularity in public circles, Khan wanted to do something extraordinary and got encouragement in April 1965 when Pakistani forces dominated Indian forces in a minor conflict in the Rann of Kutch area. This dominance bred overconfidence in the minds of the Pakistani military (Khan 1993, 84–92). They followed suit and launched operations "Gibraltar" and "Grand Slam" successively. To stall Pakistani military advances, India attacked across the international borders at Lahore, Sialkot, and Sulaimanki sectors. While both sides could have sustained the war for several more weeks, by mid-September it had become clear to leaders on both sides that the war was heading for a stalemate. Meanwhile, UN Secretary-General U Thant had been trying to mediate an end to the crisis. U Thant subsequently consulted with President Khan and Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri, but both leaders indicated preconditions for concluding hostilities and, consequently, the war continued. Not until September 20 did the Security Council, at U Thant's suggestion, pass a resolution demanding that India and Pakistan call a cease-fire (India Pakistan Wars 2008). The Indian government accepted this resolution for a cease-fire on September 21 and Pakistan did so on September 22 (Brines 1968, 5–8). The acceptance of a cease-fire by both countries brought an end to the war (Text of Tashkent Agreement 1965).

An agreement about the withdrawal by both states to the pre-war situation was signed by Pakistan's President Khan and India's Prime Minister Shastri at Tashkent, brokered by Soviet premier, Alexey Kosygin. After the Tashkent Declaration, another period of relative peace ensued (India Pakistan Wars 2008). The 1965 war resulted in a US embargo on further arms shipments to either country, which led Pakistan to seek security through broader international contacts than before, as India was already doing. The difference was that, while India had cultivated a special relationship with the Soviet Union, Pakistan using Kautiliyan logic upgraded its links with the People's Republic of China. These strategic shifts brought the major military powers of Asia into direct involvement with the subcontinent (Talbot 1970, 91).

The 1971 war

The circumstances that led to the third India–Pakistan conflict, in 1971, were due to Indian intervention in the internal affairs of Pakistan. India provided

assistance to the rebel forces in East Pakistan, which resulted in the disintegration of Pakistan through the creation of Bangladesh. Though unrest was created in former East Pakistan due to the policies of the military regime at that time, it could not lead to the dismemberment without Indian involvement. In 1971, the demands for autonomy in East Pakistan were gaining momentum and creating hurdles for the military regime. Therefore, it launched a massive military operation to curb Bengali nationalist movements in March 1971. According to a country study report about India, "resistance fighters and nearly 10 million refugees fled to sanctuary in West Bengal, the adjacent Indian state" (India: A Country Study 2008). Tariq Ahsan says that "the crisis quickly escalated into a major international conflict; India claimed that the presence of millions of Bengali refugees on its territory made it a party to the conflict" (Ahsan 2003). Richard Sisson and Leo E. Rose stated that "in the wake of the military crackdown, most of the leaders of Awami League, except Sheikh Mujib ur Rahman, who was taken prisoner, went underground and fled to India, where they established the Government of Bangladesh" (Sisson and Rose 1990, 4–5). Soon after that, the Indian government designed a strategy to assist the newly formed government of Bangladesh on Indian soil.

Due to past experience with Pakistan, this time India adopted the strategy of obtaining support from the Soviet Union in the wake of Pakistan's response to Indian military intervention in East Pakistan. India signed a "Treaty of Friendship" with the Soviet Union for a period of 20 years in August 1971. The treaty provided assurances of help from the Soviet Union in case of a threat to the national security of India. Therefore, the US did not help Pakistan and even played no active role in the 1971 conflict between the two states because of the chances of a direct clash with the Soviet Union. According to a report by the Library of Congress, "India organized, trained, and provided sanctuary to the Mukti Bahini (Liberation Force in Bengali), the East Pakistani armed resistance fighters" (India: A Country Study 2008). India attacked East Pakistan in December 1971 and carried out a naval blockade of Karachi in quick succession. Due to internal rebellion, Pakistan's armed forces could not sustain their activities and therefore lost the war on December 16, 1971, when Indian armed forces and Mukti Bahini jointly took over control of Dhaka. The war ended on December 17, with the creation of a new state, Bangladesh, after the Pakistan army surrendered in East Pakistan (Ahsan 2003).

Carving out the reasons for the 1971 war, Richard Sisson and Leo Rose note:

> Pakistani decision-makers at the outset neither desired this particular war with India nor anticipated that it would occur. It was also a commonly shared perception that the international community would constrain any Indian propensity for aggression; to leaders of the martial law regime, such an eventuality was unthinkable.
>
> (Sisson and Rose 1990, 4–5)

They wrote about the ignorance of Murphy's Law (anything that can possibly go wrong does go wrong) in strategic planning in Pakistan's military regime, and mention that:

> Pakistani military leaders commonly believed that larger Indian armies had been unable to defeat the smaller ones of Pakistan in battle. Any effort on the part of India to take territory in East Pakistan would be countered by Pakistani occupation of Indian soil in the west.
>
> (Sisson and Rose 1990, 4–5)

Zehra considers India's intentions to be evil and says the "East Pakistan crisis demonstrated India's neighborly ethos; 'get 'em when the going is bad' " (Zehra 2003).

The war ended with the surrender of Pakistan's armed forces in East Pakistan and the conflict ended through negotiations between Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan and Indira Gandhi of India. They reached an agreement named the "Simla Agreement" on July 2, 1972 (Text of Simla Agreement 1972). Both leaders "agreed to resolve their disputes through bilateral negotiations and also agreed not to unilaterally alter the existing 'Line of Control' dividing their armed forces in Kashmir" (Ahsan 2003). The agreement was seen as beneficial in Pakistan because India committed to releasing ninety thousand prisoners of war who had surrendered in East Pakistan. It contributed to the development of a good relationship between the two countries (US Library of Congress 2008). Analyzing the effects of the 1971 war, Hassan Askari Rizvi considers that "Pakistan's determination to protect its national identity and policy autonomy did not decline after the 1971 military debacle at the hands of India. If anything, its disposition stiffened" (Rizvi 2002, 308–309). However, since 1971, the Pakistan–India military balance has mostly been tipped in India's favor due to heavy incursion on Pakistan's territorial integrity by India that led to the surrender of Pakistan's armed forces against India and the creation of Bangladesh.

A significant transition occurred in the relationship between the countries when India accused Pakistan of helping the freedom movement in Kashmir in 1989. India tried its best to suppress and control the Muslim-majority population but failed. India claimed that this insurrection was covertly controlled by Pakistan while Pakistan claimed to support Kashmir's freedom movement at all international forums. However, Indian claims could not trigger any war between the two countries because of the role played by nuclear ambiguity. Now, both countries had become suspicious about each other's nuclear weapon capability. Therefore, the conflict could not become a war situation due to the dangers of nuclear escalation. The bilateral relations have passed through a lot of ups and downs that indicate the complex nature of strategic stability in the region and the risks of escalation. The last major war between the two countries was fought in 1971. In 1974, India demonstrated its nuclear capability for the first time and soon after that Pakistan also started its nuclear program. Until

1998, the nuclear weapon capability of both countries remained ambiguous in the world community.

The Brasstacks crisis 1986–1987

After 1971, Pakistan and India did not fight any full-fledged war. However, several crises emerged in the relationship between the two countries. Brasstacks was one of these. The crisis developed due to Indian military exercises along Pakistan's border. Discussing the evolution of the conflict Sagan states:

> This serious crisis began in late 1986 when the Indian military initiated a massive military exercise in Rajasthan involving an estimated 250,000 troops and 1,500 tanks, including the issuance of live ammunition to troops, and concluding with a simulated counter-offensive attack, including Indian Air Force strikes, into Pakistan.
>
> (Sagan 2001, 1069)

Stephen P. Cohen termed the exercise provocative and alleged that "the exercises first triggered by the Indian military exercise code-name Brasstacks involved provocative Indian military deployments in the Rajasthan-Sind area" (Cohen, 2003). According to Zafar Iqbal Cheema, "At the time, Pakistani experts thought that India might be preparing to relieve pressure in its East Punjab province (from a Sikh separatist insurgency that had become unmanageable) by attacking Pakistan" (Cheema 2004, 1, 6). P.R. Chari, Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, and Stephen Cohen say about the Brasstacks crisis, in their jointly written book on four crises in South Asia, that "Many Pakistani officials were alarmed by the scale and scope of the Brasstacks exercise, especially in view of its proximity to the India–Pakistan border and positioning of Indian forces in a way that suggested they might be able to bisect Pakistan" (Chari et al. 2007). Davin Hagerty writes,

> It is easy to identify the sources of Pakistan's alarm about Brasstacks … some senior Pakistani leaders feared that Indian forces were assembling in Rajasthan under the guise of exercise, but their real purpose was to launch a surprise offensive across the border into Sindh. The Indian goal, according to this scenario, would be to cut off Punjab and the capital from Sindh and the commercial port of Karachi.
>
> (Hagerty 1998, 108)

Quoting former Indian Lt. General P.N. Hoon, Sagan explains that "[w]hat had remained only a suspicion all along is now being revealed to be true; Brasstacks was no military exercise. It was a plan to build up a situation for a fourth war with Pakistan" (Sagan 2001, 1069).

According to a study by Raj Chengappa, India had a plan code-named "Trident" underneath the Brasstacks exercises that aimed to destroy Pakistan's nuclear installations by provoking a war with Pakistan through the exercise

(Chengappa 2000, 322). Perceiving aggressive Indian intentions, Pakistan responded with a counterdeployment of its forces and adopted a counterattack posture in Punjab. According to various studies, a nuclear threat was indirectly made public through an interview between Abdul Qadeer Khan, the top Pakistani nuclear scientist, and Kuldip Nayar, a highly reputed Indian journalist. Khan conveyed a message that Pakistan had acquired nuclear weapon capability and could manufacture a nuclear weapon if the security of the country was threatened (Gagné 2003, 37–58). Zafar Cheema writes:

> To defuse the Brasstacks crisis, Pakistan relied upon its nuclear weapons capability; this being the first time in the history of the Subcontinent that nuclear deterrence was invoked. The channels Pakistan reportedly employed in signaling an incipient deterrent capability, however, were unconventional and indirect.
>
> (Cheema 2004)

However, the crisis was brought to an end through high-level talks between the two countries. According to Sagan:

> The resulting crisis produced a flurry of diplomatic activity and was resolved only after direct intervention by the highest authorities, including an emergency telephone conversation between Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and special diplomatic missions to India by Foreign Secretary Abdul Sattar and President Zia ul-Haq.
>
> (Sagan 2001, 1069)

The 1990 crisis over Kashmir

After Brasstacks, a short period of peace persisted between the two countries. Then, both states were again embroiled in a crisis situation over Kashmir while the memories of Brasstacks were still alive. A situation of unrest and anarchy emerged in Kashmir due to Congress's rule. The mismanagement of Congress's regime in the state's affairs worsened the situation and eventually resulted in an insurgency. Devin Hagerty's study suggests that "most analysts, Indian and otherwise, agree that this latest phase of the Kashmir dispute is rooted in the policies of governments in New Delhi and Srinagar, particularly under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her son and successor, Rajiv Gandhi" (Hagerty 1995–1996, 93). Sumit Ganguly also wrote that "the insurgency in Kashmir had indigenous origins: it stemmed from the steady erosion of political institutions in the state against a growing backdrop of political mobilization as a consequence of expanding literacy, mass media, and higher education" (Ganguly 2008, 51). Though the movement for freedom already existed in Kashmir, political unrest provided an opportunity to open rebellion and therefore invite insurgency. Keeping in view the claim over the whole territory

of Kashmir, Pakistan openly provided moral support to the Kashmiri movement for freedom while India blamed Pakistan for the infiltration of militants in Kashmir.

A study of South Asia by Cohen suggests that "the crisis was the product of domestic political instability in both countries, the eruption of separatist violence in Kashmir, and serious misjudgments in Islamabad and New Delhi" (Cohen 2003). Discussing the major factors of the crisis in a study, Cheema writes:

> India alleged that Pakistan was supporting the struggle in Kashmir by arming, training and infiltrating Mujahideen. India, therefore, deployed its strike corps along the border near Rajasthan in the south while taking up defensive positions in the north, as it had done during the Brasstacks exercise.
>
> (Cheema 2004)

Semoyer Hersh writes:

> During months of increasing tension, India had massed two hundred thousand troops, including paramilitary forces, in Kashmir, and had deployed five brigades of its most sophisticated attack units, the Indian Army Strike Corps, fifty miles from the Pakistani border in the south.
>
> (Hersh 1993)

As with Brasstacks, Pakistan responded with the counterdeployment of its elite forces along the borders in the north. Keeping in view the conventional military disparity, Pakistan again maneuvered against Indian aggression through its incipient nuclear weapon capability. Hersh writes, "Pakistan openly deployed its main armored tank units along the Indian border and, in secret, placed its nuclear weapons arsenal on alert" (Hersh 1993). According to a report by James Adams in *The Sunday Times* London, "American spy satellites photographed heavily armed convoys leaving the top-secret Pakistani nuclear weapons complex at Kahuta, near Islamabad and heading for military airfields" (Adams 1990). Hersh elaborated similar:

> The American intelligence community, also operating in secret, had concluded by late May that Pakistan had put together at least six and perhaps as many as ten nuclear weapons, and a number of senior analysts were convinced that some of those warheads had been deployed on Pakistan's American-made F-16 fighter planes".
>
> (Hersh 1993)

The dangers of nuclear escalation again compelled the US to intervene and defuse the crisis. Following US intelligence reports regarding movements of

nuclear weapons, President Bush sent Robert Gates to visit both countries. Quoting Gates, Hersh says:

> Gates told me that he, too, knew that a holocaust was at risk in May. "The analogy we kept making was to the summer of 1914," he said, referring to the inadvertent outbreak of the First World War. "Pakistan and India seemed to be caught in a cycle that they couldn't break out of. I was convinced that if a war started, it would be nuclear".
>
> (Hersh 1993)

Such conviction mobilized Gates' efforts to cool down the situation. Quoting an anonymous official about Gates' visit to the subcontinent, Hagerty writes that "the gist of the message to both sides was that war would be to neither side's advantage" (Hagerty 1995–1996, 93). Gates' visit came to fruition soon and the conflict was defused with reciprocal concessions from both conflicting parties. Sumit Ganguly states, "Within two weeks of the Gates visit, the tensions subsided, with both sides making reciprocal concessions" (Ganguly 2008, 51). Analysis of the facts during the 1990 crisis suggests that it was defused through active US diplomacy but here, too, the movement of nuclear arsenal compelled the US to intervene. Therefore, it is arguable that this crisis was also averted due to the dangers of nuclear escalation.

The Kargil crisis 1999

Kargil was the first major conflict between India and Pakistan that arose after the nuclearization of South Asia. Due to the manifest presence of nuclear weapons, the Kargil conflict again alarmed the international community. The animosity between the two countries gained high priority in international politics when both resorted to becoming nuclear weapon states in May 1998. Within a short duration of only one year and two months, the countries fought a limited war that increased the risk of nuclear escalation. Peter Lavoy says that "Kargil dispelled the common notion that nuclear-armed states cannot fight one another" (Lavoy 2009). Stephen Cohen has called it a limited war that was initiated by the Pakistani military:

> This exercise in the limited war was instigated by the Pakistani army when it infiltrated guerillas and regular army forces across the contested LOC, threatening India's position in the Siachen Glacier region as well as the town of Leh to the southeast.
>
> (Cohen 2003)

Describing India's reaction to the Pakistani intrusion, Adrian Levy and Sumit Das reported in *The Sunday Times*:

> India considered a number of versions of the option of "horizontal escalation," e.g., whether to enlarge the conflict only at strategically suitable

> places along the LOC inside Kashmir, or to open hostilities and probe or invade at other points along the international border or even to challenge Pakistan's access to the Arabian Sea.
>
> (Levy and Das 1999)

Keeping in view the historical animosity, national prestige, credible nuclear weapon capability, and international pressure, the states were entangled in a very awkward situation. Due to contending claims from the adversaries, the exact determination of nuclear danger during the conflict has still not been explored. Describing the danger of nuclear escalation as a myth during the Kargil crisis, General Musharraf writes in his book *In the Line of Fire*:

> I can also say with authority that in 1999 our nuclear capability was not yet operational. Merely exploding a bomb does not mean that you are operationally capable of deploying nuclear force in the field and delivering a bomb across the border over a selected target. Any talk of preparing for nuclear strikes is preposterous.
>
> (Musharraf 2006, 98)

However, the majority of analyses consider it a dangerous war that could have led to a nuclear exchange. Cities in both India and Pakistan could have become like Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Zafar Iqbal Cheema describes the nature of the danger during the Kargil conflict: "The confrontation underscored the dangers of a nuclear exchange being born out of miscalculation, underestimation of the adversary's responses, or an accident, any of which could lead to an action-reaction spiral" (Cheema 2004). Strobe Talbott has mentioned the dangers of internationalizing the conflict and writes:

> It was conceivable that while mobilizing for all-out war, Pakistan might seek support from China and various Arab states, while India would perhaps turn to its old protector Russia and even to its newer partner Israel. The result could be an international free-for-all in which all the wrong outsiders would be looking for ways to score points against one another.
>
> (Talbott 2004, 157)

Cohen's study states that "[s]everal hundred troops were killed at Kargil, and for the first time in 30 years India launched air strikes … India also pulverized Pakistani positions with artillery and the ground, air, and naval forces of both countries were mobilized" (Cohen 2003). The conflict ended in the same way that has always been effective in defusing Pakistan–India crises. The US again intervened in the conflict because of US intelligence reports regarding the movement of the nuclear arsenal in Pakistan and India, and the dangers of nuclear escalation. Active diplomacy by the US succeeded in resolving the crisis and restoring the pre-crisis situation. Different State Department officials

visited both India and Pakistan while telephonic communication between Nawaz Sharif and President Clinton played a vital role. After the intense negotiations between Sharif and Clinton on July 4, Independence Day in the US, the crisis came to end with Pakistan's withdrawal of its forces from Kargil and President Clinton's promise to take a personal interest in resuming the Lahore process.

Discussing Pakistan's determination regarding the Kashmir dispute and its actions to achieve its objective, Peter Lavoy writes, "Much like suicide bombers today forfeit their lives in the interest of a supposed greater cause, Pakistan historically has been willing to sacrifice virtually every resource at its disposal in order to sustain the Kashmir dispute" (Lavoy 2009). He added that "this episode should be a lesson to India and the international community that Pakistan would be willing to sacrifice even more than it did in 1999 to defend its stake in Kashmir and more generally protect its national sovereignty and territorial integrity" (Lavoy 2009).

The compound crisis of 2001–2002

The nuclearization of South Asia provided food for thought to scholars of nuclear studies. South Asia again became the focus of international concerns when its conventional rivals went "eyeball to eyeball" in 2001–2002. This crisis was more dangerous than Kargil because of the advancement of missile delivery systems in both countries. The crisis is known as a response to the attack on India's Parliament in December 2001 but Rajesh Basrur's analysis suggests that the seeds of the 2001–2002 crisis were sowed during the Kargil conflict; India was not satisfied with the outcomes regarding its complaints against Pakistan about cross-border terrorism: "To Indians, it seemed Pakistan was increasingly confident that India was severely hamstrung by Pakistan's nuclear capability" (Basrur 2008, 59–62). Indian policymakers searched for some tangible strategy to come out of Pakistan's dominance enigma and drew up various policies starting from hot pursuit to limited war options, but failed. Rajesh Basrur, quoting a speech by the Indian defense minister, George Fernandes, opines, "nuclear weapons 'can deter only the use of nuclear weapons, but not all and any war' while claiming that 'conventional war has not been made obsolete by nuclear weapons' " (Basrur 2008).

Meanwhile, the US's reaction to the 9/11 attacks provided India with justification for adopting a war-like and aggressive response to Pakistan. The twin attacks on the Legislature in Kashmir and Indian Parliament in 2001 intensified Indian eagerness to dilute its frustration by mounting military pressure on Pakistan. Therefore, "India blamed Pakistan for backing the attackers, threatened to go to war, and initiated Operation Parakram, a massive military build-up along the entire border and the LoC" (Basrur 2008). Several war scenarios were envisaged but none could be practiced. India launched "Operation Parakram" to frighten Pakistan through coercion and deployed its armed forces along the borders with Pakistan. A jointly written book by P.R. Chari,

Pervez Iqbal Cheema, and Stephen P. Cohen provides the facts about Indian deployments:

> The force eventually consisted of an estimated 800,000 troops, including its three strike corps, positioned along the India–Pakistan border. Indian air force units and satellite airfields were activated, and the Eastern Fleet was shifted from the Bay of Bengal to the northern Arabian Sea to join the Western Fleet in a blockade of Pakistan. Mines were laid and troops deployed with their full wartime complement of equipment and ammunition.
>
> (Chari et al. 2007, 153)

Cohen commented that:

> India maintained a confrontational stance, causing bilateral relations to slump to their lowest levels since the 1999 Kargil conflict. Pakistan was forced to respond with a counter mobilization of its own.… This prolonged stand-off threatened to escalate into a major and possibly nuclear war in South Asia.
>
> (Cohen 2003)

The crisis worsened when both sides test-fired their nuclear-capable missiles and signaled their deployment. In his nationwide address on March 23, 2002, President Musharraf stated:

> By Allah's Grace, Pakistan today possesses a powerful military might and can give a crushing response to all types of aggression against its sovereignty and territorial integrity … anybody who poses a challenge to our security and integrity would be taught an unforgettable lesson.
>
> (Musharraf 2002)

Musharraf reiterated this policy during the military standoff and said that "even an inch" of Indian incursion across the Kashmir divide "will unleash a storm that will sweep the enemy. The people of Pakistan have always had faith in the ability of the armed forces to inflict unbearable damage to the enemy" (*The News* 2002). Zafar Iqbal Cheema considers Musharraf's statement as an ultimatum to Indian rhetoric:

> This was an avert signaling to India that an attack on Pakistan would result in catastrophic consequences for India.… This type of "unbearable damage" to the enemy could only be done with weapons of mass destruction i.e. nuclear weapons in this case. But Musharraf avoided the use of word "nuclear weapons" and instead used words like "unconventional weapons" or resort to "unconventional war" so that a room for deniability remains.
>
> (Cheema 2004, 13)

The crisis was brought to an end by the unilateral withdrawal of troops by India from the line of control and international border in October 2002. P.R. Chari considers the fear of international economic sanctions and other direct and indirect economic losses as the major reasons for this withdrawal. He writes, "This had severely affected the travel and tourism industry, adding to the direct and indirect costs of the border confrontation … and [there was] the threat of further economic sanctions being imposed if the prevailing tensions were not eased" (Chari 2003, 22). Discussing the significance of the crisis, Professor Zafar Iqbal Cheema describes that "the military standoff was a major test for strategic stability in the Subcontinent in which the two countries reverted back literally from the brink of war" (Cheema 2004).

A concluding analysis of the different crises in the preceding discussion supports the idea that it was the nuclear weapons capability that deterred major escalation during the intense period of mutual enmity between India and Pakistan. This was because of either the concept of mutual assured destruction or intense US diplomacy; the actual steering force behind deterring war was nuclear weapons capability. Cohen diagnoses Indian views about Pakistan in an excellent manner, describing Indian intentions toward Pakistan and proving the genuineness of Pakistan's India-centered search for security.

> The attacks in Kashmir and New Delhi brought into public discourse a view that was once only uttered privately: Pakistan is an accident of history, and must be forced to its knees or destroyed. India's highly vocal and politically ascendant hawks fall into three categories: those who would lure Pakistan into a military confrontation, leading to a final triumph over the Pakistan army (the aborted 1987 *Brasstacks* model); those who believe that Pakistan merely needs a push in the form of increased support for separatist forces in the Sind, NWFP, and Baluchistan, which would lead to a civil war and the breakup of Pakistan (the 1971 model); and those who believe that India's greater economic potential will enable it to naturally dominate Pakistan and persuade its outside supporters that Pakistan is a failed state (the Soviet model).
>
> (Cohen 2003)

Samjhota express train bombing 2007

On February 18, 2007, the Samjhota express train bombings again created a situation of shock and awe on both sides of the border in which 68 people were burnt and charred alive, and another 50 were injured (*Washington Post* 2007). The train service ran twice-weekly, connecting Delhi and Lahore in India and Pakistan respectively. Two carriages of the train were blasted with a flammable explosive material near the Indian city of Panipat, a day before the Pakistani foreign minister, Khurshid Mehmood Kasuri, was to arrive in New Delhi for the continuation of peace talks with Indian leaders and to sign a nuclear risk reduction agreement. The attack was initially blamed on Pakistan-based militant

organizations by Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) opposition in India but it appeared to be linked more to the fundamentalist Hindutva militant group Abhinav Bharat within India (*Hindustan Times*, 2010). Most of the dead and injured in this tragic incident were Pakistanis. The Indian minister of railways, Lalu Prasad Yadav, condemned the incident and said, "[I]t was an attempt to derail the improving relationship between India and Pakistan" (*International Herald Tribune* 2007). India's Prime Minister Manmohan Singh also expressed anguish and grief and promised to take the culprits to task. Khurshid Mahmud Kasuri visited India and President Musharraf also stated that "such wanton acts of terrorism will only serve to further strengthen our resolve to attain the mutually desired objectives of sustainable peace between the two countries" (Reuters, 2007). Relations did not sour too much as both sides had causalities and suspects initially.

Mumbai attacks 2008

Another incident took place after the installation of the new civilian government of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in Islamabad. The Mumbai attacks of November 26, 2008, again distorted the whole effort of confidence-building measures. It is also noteworthy here that the new government of President Asif Ali Zardari and his prime minister, Syed Yousaf Raza Gilani, was interested in mending ties with India, which was evident from the fact that the day the Mumbai attacks took place, the then foreign minister of the PPP government, Mukhdoom Shah Mehmud Qureshi, was present in India for the official talks. Ten terrorists carried out a series of 12 coordinated shootings and bomb attacks at 10 different points across Mumbai. This whole episode continued from November 26 to 29, 2008, for 4 days. In all, 166 people were killed in all in these attacks (*New York Times* 2008). This time the terrorist attack was international in nature as the targets were not only Indian interests but Jews and Americans too. The perpetrators of the terrorist attack were killed but one of them, namely Ajmal Kasab, was apprehended alive. David Headley, an American, who did the recce before this incident to carry out the attack, was caught in the US and is still there in jail (US Department of Justice, 2013). Hafiz Saeed and his Jamat were nominated by India for this attack (Ahmad 2012).

Although in 2009 Pakistan admitted that the attacks were plotted on its soil, it categorically rejected any kind of state connivance or sponsorship by any of its institutions. All kinds of relations, whether economic, business, cultural, trade, or traveling, were ended. India tried to make this incident the 9/11 of India and influenced the international community to declare Pakistan a terrorist state despite the fact that the alleged people in this case have been on trial in the Pakistani anti-terrorism courts since 2009 (Marinero 2009).

Pathankot attack 2016

Normalization could not be re-initiated again after the Mumbai attacks for seven long years. Governments changed on both sides but, still, a lukewarm attitude

was seen on the Indian side. Now the government of the Hindu nationalist party, BJP, along with its allies, is installed in India and does not want to have peaceful relations with Pakistan. India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi tried to malign Pakistan at every international forum and never paid any heed toward normalization of relations. After a long time under severe US pressure, Modi stopped in Pakistan while coming back from his trip to Afghanistan for some time on December 25, 2015, and the hopes for a new chapter of peace were rekindled (Naseer 2015). But this could not go smoothly when the peace spoilers again came into action only a week after his departure, on January 2, 2016, and the Indian air base at Pathankot was stormed by terrorists (*Tribune* 2016). India provided communication leads on terrorists to Pakistan and the handlers of this attack were found seemingly to be associated with Pakistan, according to Indian claims (*Dawn* 2016a). This time India behaved differently and avoided any confrontation, under strong US pressure (*Express Tribune* 2016). India agreed to give access to a Pakistani investigation team to visit the attacked Pathankot Air Base to collect evidence. Though this access was limited, it was the first-ever cooperation between these states in which India declared that no involvement on the part of Pakistani government was found, but that the handlers of the attack, members of the Pakistan-based militant organization Jaish-e-Muhammad, must be brought to justice (*Dawn* 2016c).

While keeping in view the trajectory of terrorism, Pakistan also claims that India is involved in subversive activities in Pakistan. This claim proved prudent for Pakistan in 2016 when Pakistani forces captured a high-level Indian spy, Kalbhushan Jhadev, from Balochistan, who is a serving lieutenant colonel of the Indian Navy and who admitted that he had been spying for an Indian secret agency, Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), to destabilize Balochistan for a long time (*Dawn* 2016b). His admission has proven the Pakistani stance that India has been involved in terror-related incidences in Pakistan to destabilize it through its borders with Afghanistan and Iran. This time, India could not deny that the man belonged to India and requested consular access from Pakistan, which was declined on account of the investigation process (*Daily Mail* 2016). As far as Pakistan's involvement in terrorist activities in India is concerned, recent investigations by Indian agencies about the Pathankot incident have also shown that the poor security arrangement in the highly sensitive location is one of the major reasons for terrorist attacks (Arunima 2016).

Uri attack and surgical strikes claim 2016

The new wave of the freedom movement in the Indian-held Jammu and Kashmir after the brutal killing of young freedom fighter Burhan Muzzafar Wani by Indian forces on July 8, 2016, again brought the Kashmir dispute into the international arena and made it clear that Pakistan was not backing the Kashmiri freedom fighters logistically or through any other proxy means being claimed by India. It was recognized by the international community as well as by various Indian analysts themselves that the movement had indigenous roots (APP 2016).

Indian forces used pellet guns, tear gas and unprovoked firing on the peaceful protestors, which has killed more than one hundred people since the killing of Wani and after the passing of more than one hundred days under curfew so far (*Economic Times* 2016). The brutal use of pellets has completely blinded more than one hundred people and another seven hundred have very little chance of recovery of sight in either eye (Al-Jazeera 2016b).

In this scenario, Pakistan decided to muster up its diplomatic efforts for Kashmiris and found a chance to get the international community to realize the brutalities being committed against the Kashmiris by India (*Hindu* 2016b). The international community seemed convinced and listened to the voices of Kashmiris this time. As Pakistan's Prime Minister Muhammad Nawaz Sharif was to raise the Kashmir issue forcefully in the United Nations General Assembly forum, hawkish and non-state elements again came into action. On September 18, 2016, the Indian Army's 12th Brigade headquarters in Uri, Jammu and Kashmir, was attacked by 4 terrorists, resulting in the death of 17 Indian soldiers two days before Nawaz Sharif's address to the United Nations General Assembly on September, 21 in New York (Al-Jazeera, 2016a). India, without wasting a moment, blamed the Pakistan-based jihadi organization Jaish-e-Mohammad for this act of terror. As always, without any inquiry or concrete evidence, responsibility was squarely laid at Pakistan's feet and India threatened strict action (*Daily Times* 2016).[1]

As a result, Nawaz Sharif's diplomatic efforts again became just writing on a piece of paper to be read out. The terrorists succeeded in achieving their ulterior motives in which the oppression and suppression of Kashmiris became a secondary issue to terrorism as the first-hand agenda. The Uri attack totally favored India, who had previously been criticized in the world because of the new killing spree and brutalities being committed in Jammu and Kashmir, and put the Kashmir issue on the backburner while relations between India and Pakistan again move toward hostility. The bilateral relations are nosediving once more, which has a negative impact on the region as well. The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) summit, which was going to be held in Islamabad on November 9–10, has been canceled. After the rift between Pakistan's Interior Minister Ch. Nisar and his counterpart from India, Rajnath Singh, on the occasion of a SAARC interior ministers' meeting on August 3, which was left by the latter due to Ch. Nisar's candid stance on Kashmir uprising, it seemed obvious that India might refuse to attend the SAARC summit in Pakistan (Ganjoo, 2016).

These apprehensions proved exactly right when India pulled out of the summit on the pretext of the September 18, 2016, attack on Uri by terrorists in the Indian-held Jammu and Kashmir, and abruptly alleged Pakistani involvement without any evidence or inquiry to be held. First India and after that three of its closest regional allies and members of the SAARC, namely Afghanistan, Bangladesh, and Bhutan, also refused to join the summit, which ultimately resulted in its cancelation, a great setback to the prospects for regional cooperation and prosperity (*Hindustan Times* 2016).

Pulwama attack and aerial combat 2019

On February 14, Adil Ahmad Dar, a resident of Gundibagh village in the Pulwama district of South Kashmir, killed more than 44 personnel at India's Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) in a suicide attack. The attack was the deadliest terrorist incident in Kashmir in three decades (Yusuf 2019). India claimed that a suicide bomber from the Jaish-e-Mohammed (JeM) group hit an explosives-laden vehicle into a CRPF convoy. India's home minister, Rajnath Singh, claimed that "Pakistan-based, Jaish-e-Muhammad is responsible for the dastardly attack" (Ashiq 2019), while India's finance minister, Arun Jaitley, said that "Modi's cabinet had decided to initiate steps to ensure complete diplomatic isolation of Pakistan" (*Dawn* 2019a). However, Pakistan denied its involvement and offered full cooperation to investigate the incident. The foreign secretary of Pakistan, Tehmina Janjua, strongly rejected the Indian allegations of Pakistan's involvement in the Pulwama attack (The Radio Pakistan 2019), while the Pakistan government stated that the attack was "a matter of grave concern" (*Hindu* 2019a). The White House issued a statement within a few hours to put pressure on Pakistan and asked it "to end immediately the support and safe haven provided to all terrorist groups operating on its soil" (*Indian Express* 2019). The US's national security advisor, John Bolton, defended India's right to defend itself, thus covertly giving permission for military action against Pakistan (Sultan 2019b).

On February 23, 2019, the crisis escalated to a high level of tension when India conducted airstrikes on a suspected JeM camp inside the western province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. India blatantly said that it had killed a large number of JeM terrorists, trainers, and senior commanders, and groups of jihadis in the attack (Indian Ministry of External Affairs 2019). However, it is clear from independent observers of satellite images that there was no such damage on the ground. The initial claims after the Balakot airstrike of the killing of more than 350 terrorists were proved wrong while Pakistan's Prime Minister Imran Khan called a special meeting of the National Command Authority to oversee policy formulation, exercises, deployment, research and development, and operational command and control of the country's nuclear arsenal (*Dawn* 2019a). Imran Khan directed the armed forces of Pakistan to react "decisively and comprehensively" to any aggression or misadventure by India (*Express Tribune* 2019). Besides, Pakistan's army chief, General Qamar Javed Bajwa, stated that "Pakistan will not be intimidated or coerced … any aggression or misadventure shall be paid back in the same coin" (*Express Tribune* 2019).

On February 27, 2019, the next day, Pakistan responded to Indian aggression and shot down an Indian fighter jet crossing into Pakistan's territory and the pilot of the jet was captured instantly. However, the captured pilot was returned to India very quickly as a goodwill gesture. Imran Khan announced in the National Assembly of Pakistan that Pakistan would release the Indian pilot as a peace gesture. India tried to carry out surgical strikes intentionally or

accidentally, but Pakistan came up with a proportionate conventional response. Zafar Nawaz Jaspal writes that the "Indian strike is a clear violation of international law because the threat is a clear expression of intent to intervene in the airspace and territory controlled by other states" (Jaspal 2019). Reportedly, India had planned to launch multiple conventional missile strikes inside Pakistan (Jorgic 2019). However, Imran Khan stated that "Pakistan has no interest in engaging in a military conflict and warned that it is easy to start a conflict but difficult to control" (Sultan 2019a).

In each of the previous crises, third parties, principally the US, were prominent in brokering a peaceful end to the episode (Yusuf 2018). After the Pulwama incident, it is assessed that the US was not a neutral party from the very start and was overtly siding with India. Ashley Tellis stated that "the U.S. was engaged in 'recessed diplomacy' which was intended to pressure Pakistan, while at the same time, providing latitude to India to undertake punitive measures against its adversary" (Sultan 2019a). Unfortunately, India's aggressive posture was being actively encouraged by the US, which had now firmly aligned with New Delhi in its global rivalry with China (Akram 2019). On the other hand, the roles of Russia, UAE, Saudi Arabia, and China were more meaningful in the de-escalation.

Nuclear deterrence and strategic stability

The longstanding enmity between India and Pakistan is the major factor that drove South Asia toward nuclearization. Though Indians claim to have different reasons for their nuclear weapon development program, animosity with Pakistan was one of the driving factors, while Pakistan's nuclear program is completely India-centric. The dismemberment after the 1971 war and India's nuclear test in 1974 were the motivating forces for Pakistan to pursue the nuclear path. According to Samina Ahmed, "the bilateral relationship is marked by acrimony and includes proxy wars conducted in each other's territory as well as several near-war situations" (Ahmed 2000, 784). Both India and Pakistan have had bitter experiences regarding their survival as independent states. India had to face defeat by China in 1962 while Pakistan was disintegrated in 1971 due to Indian intervention. Therefore, the quest for genuine independence demanded that both countries develop nuclear weapons to reduce dependence on outside help and to obtain indigenous defense sufficiency. Stephen Cohen has likened Pakistan's strategic decisions to those of Israel:

> Both [Israel and Pakistan] sought an entangling alliance with various outside powers (at various times, Britain, France, China, and the US), both ultimately concluded that outsiders could not be trusted in a moment of extreme crisis, and this led them to develop nuclear weapons.
>
> (Cohen 2001, 204)

Discussing the strategic significance of nuclear weapons, Feroze Hassan Khan explains:

> [I]n the context of the larger strategic policy, a nuclear deterrent was said to fulfill various objectives: dissuade the adversary from contemplating aggression; deter potential enemies; increase bargaining leverage; reduce dependence on allies, and acquire military independence by reducing dependence on external sources of military hardware.
>
> (Khan 2003)

Pakistan and India view each other as the core threat to their national security. According to Rais:

> The historical roots of confrontation between India and Pakistan are complex; Pakistan's anxieties and fears about India are rooted as much in the imbalance of power and India's design for regional security as in the pre-partition communal conflict and contrasting ideas about nationalism. Among all these factors, the Kashmir dispute and the bitter legacy of wars have continued to fuel hostility and enemy images.
>
> (Rais 2005, 144)

Throughout their history, both countries have been a security concern for each other. India's hegemonic intentions and negative attitude have always been a source of threat to Pakistan's security establishment. Rais says that "Pakistan's defense and foreign policies have been India centered from the beginning; for over half a century Pakistan's security dilemma has centered on how to balance, counter, and if necessary, fight the Indian threat" (Rais 2005, 144). The overt nuclearization of South Asia by the end of the twentieth century was also the result of the animosity between the two states. India claimed that they had conducted nuclear tests as a part of their deterrence strategy against China but began to threaten Pakistan soon after the nuclear tests on May 11, 1998. Indian Deputy Prime Minister Lal Krishan Advani vowed after the nuclear tests that "Islamabad should realize the change in the geostrategic situation in the region and the world. It must roll back its anti-India policy especially with regard to Kashmir; any other course will be futile and costly for Pakistan" (Krepon 2010). Pakistan, despite having nuclear weapons capability, was reluctant to respond with nuclear tests due to international pressure, but the threats to its national security from the Indian side compelled Pakistan to conduct nuclear tests on May 28, 1998. Rais writes:

> Before India conducted its five nuclear tests, a condition of threshold deterrence existed between India and Pakistan. Internationally, observers believed—and India and Pakistan mutually acknowledged—that both countries had the technological capability to manufacture nuclear weapons at

> short notice. Pakistan's reactive tests on May 28 and 30, 1998, confirmed this belief.
>
> (Rais 2005, 144)

The analysis of the history of strategic stability in South Asia suggests that Pakistan has always been entangled in strategic competition with India due to Indian efforts to destabilize Pakistan whenever there is an opportunity to do so. Though Pakistan also had the opportunity to attack India in 1962 during the Sino-Indian war, it did nothing of the sort, whereas India took the opportunity to dismember Pakistan in 1971 during domestic unrest in former East Pakistan. The humiliating defeat in the 1971 war with India put Pakistan on the nuclear path to achieve security assurance against the continuous Indian threats. The Indian nuclear tests in 1974, the so-called Smiling Buddha, further enhanced Pakistan's fears regarding its national security and compelled Pakistan to develop nuclear weapon capability at a fast pace. Pakistan achieved the capability to manufacture nuclear weapons in the 1980s but tested them only after Indian tests in May 1998. In the meanwhile, India conducted five nuclear tests on May 11 and 13, 1998, that compelled Pakistan to disclose its nuclear weapon capability, with six nuclear tests at Chaghi, to restore the balance of power in the region.

Strategic stability in South Asia was jeopardized when the rival countries rushed toward experimental nuclear blasts. During the inter-test period of the two states, top Indian leadership began to threaten Pakistan. The aggressive attitudes of the Indian leadership melted away when Pakistan responded with its own nuclear tests. According to Sri Raman, "the counterparts in Pakistan, too, let out a collective howl of joy after their own triumphal tests as though the country had just rebuffed Indian aggression" (Raman 2008). Analyzing strategic stability in South Asia, Riffat Hussain says about the tests:

> With these tests, the governments in Islamabad and New Delhi categorically announced to the world community, and especially to each other, that they both held the capability to retaliate with nuclear weapons in response to any attack … using the successive events of the Kargil Conflict of 1999 and the May–June 2002 military stand-off between these nuclear-armed adversaries as paradigm illustrations of this fragility, many analysts have approvingly echoed United States President Bill Clinton's characterization of nuclear South Asia as the most dangerous place on earth.
>
> (Hussain 2005, 1)

Discussing the role of nuclear weapons in India–Pakistan relations, George Iype writes:

> While the BJP insists that the nuclear tests have nothing to do with its aggressive stand on Kashmir, diplomatic experts predict that "the Vajpayee doctrine on Kashmir" will push India's foreign policy towards Pakistan in

> adventurist directions.… It has now culminated in the nuclear tests. The Vajpayee government cannot claim that the nuclear tests and its belligerent stand on Kashmir are not related.
>
> (Iype 1998)

Just three days before the Pakistani nuclear explosions, the Indian home minister, L.K. Advani, adopted an aggressive attitude toward Pakistan that is evident in Iype's news report. The report said:

> Home minister Lal Kishinchand Advani, who had just taken charge of the Jammu and Kashmir cell at the Centre, will launch a policy of "hot pursuit" to quell the proxy war by Pakistan in the state … the home minister has given his nod to the state government and central security forces to carry out 'deep strikes' into Pakistan-controlled Kashmir.
>
> (Iype 1998)

The report also quotes a senior official at the Jammu and Kashmir cell: "The BJP has always been very aggressive on Kashmir; the nuclear tests have given the BJP's belligerence a new kind of volatility" (Iype 1998).

On the other side, Indian security measures are also centered around Pakistan. Countering Pakistan's stand on Kashmir and tilting South Asia's balance of power in India's favor have been the cornerstones of India's strategic policies. India also considers Pakistan a threat to its national security. According to Prime Minister Vajpayee's principal secretary, Brajesh Mishra, "threats of war from Pakistan soon after Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee assumed office in 1998 led India to conduct the Pokhran nuclear tests" (Mishra 2000). Keeping all this in context, nuclear stability in South Asia has become a very complex phenomenon. Discussing the evolution of nuclear deterrence in South Asia, Zafar Iqbal Cheema states:

> Nuclear deterrence in South Asia evolved as a prevailing "condition" rather than an articulated "policy", before the May 1998 nuclear tests; even after the 1998 nuclear tests, explicit nuclear deterrence postures and policies emerged incrementally, usually driven by events and reactions to each other's conduct in crisis contexts. India and Pakistan's divergent perceptions about various levels of conventional conflict inject further complexity in nuclear stability.
>
> (Cheema 2004)

The analysis of the nuclearization in South Asia suggests that the strategic effects of nuclear weapon development have significantly contributed to increasing the scale of risks, and nuclear South Asia is now considered more dangerous compared to in the past. According to Peter Lavoy, "[T]here are two different viewpoints about the effects of Nuclearization in South Asia that have led to the formation of two camps of deterrence theorists over whether a

nuclearized subcontinent will prevent a major conflict or foster escalation" (Lavoy 2003). First are Deterrence Optimists, who claim that "fear of the ultimate weapon has restrained the rough actors from violent conflicts that the region has been spared from major wars, despite recurrent crises during the past two decades" (Khan 2003), while the second, Deterrence Pessimists, claim that the nuclearization of South Asia has increased the hostile attitude of the countries involved and the region has become more pronged to the competition.

Discussing pessimist views, Khan writes, "[T]he region came close to full blows at least twice since the open 1998 nuclear weapons tests in 1999 and 2001–2002 and thrice earlier in the covert nuclear period in 1984, 1986–1987, and 1989–1990"; and argues that "[i]n fact, the three most recent crises in 1990, 1999, and 2001–2002 only avoided escalating into a full-scale war because of intense US diplomacy" (Khan 2003). In this debate between the two camps of scholars, the viewpoint of Deterrence Optimists is nearer to reality because the factor behind the intense US diplomacy (as claimed by Deterrence Pessimists) was also the effectiveness of nuclear weapons and US worries about a nuclear escalation in the region. The US role would not have been so intense and caring in this regard (as it was during past crises and even during wars) if there were no nuclear weapons. This is evident from Bill Clinton's characterization of "nuclear South Asia as the most dangerous place on the earth" (Hussain 2005, 1).

Confidence-building measures (CBMs)

Despite having a bitter history of hostility and offensive gestures, both countries do also realize that mutual disputes cannot be resolved through aggression, especially after the nuclearization of the region with advanced delivery systems. The countries have experienced more than a half-century of enmity and have been to the brink of nuclear attacks. In the wake of nuclear threats, both have realized that this enmity could bring them to nuclear holocaust. Therefore, along with the adversarial intentions, several efforts have also been made to reduce suspicion and mistrust on each side. The two states have unconsciously followed the concept of mutual assured destruction and pursued peace through CBMs, and have managed to agree on a number of operational arms control measures, more usually understood as CBMs. It is unfortunate that these CBMs are often useless because of the presence of certain peace spoilers who are involved in acts of terrorism or by other breeders of suspicion on both sides. P.R. Chari notes:

> The empirical evidence suggests that CBMs, including positive declaratory statements, have been difficult to initiate and sustain in the Indo-Pakistani milieu. The statements for peace, rarely pursued, are issued as cosmetic devices, or are designed to impress the international community.
>
> (Chari 2011, 89)

Rifaat Hussain also notes the failure of the peace process between the two states and observes:

> There are many wide-ranging reasons underlying this failure. The inherent intractability of conflicts like Kashmir, rigid behavioral patterns, the unsuccessful attempts to broker peace, weak peace agreements, imperfect peace deals, peace accords that have not been fully implemented; and settlements that ignore their distributional consequences for the parties to the conflict.
>
> (Hussain 2008)

Shaun Gregory's (2005) analysis suggests that both countries have taken various military, economic, social, cultural, and political steps to enhance confidence in each other. The major confidence-building measures include: the establishment of hotlines between the commanders at the line of control, extended up to the level of prime minister (Track-one Diplomacy); communicational links between non-governmental institutions and personalities (Track-two Diplomacy); cultural exchanges and people-to-people contacts (Track-three Diplomacy); confidence-building agreements that include various agreements regarding boundary lines, cease-fire lines, lines of control, the Indus Water Treaty, Delhi Agreement, Karachi Agreement, Lahore Declaration, etc. Moreover, various agreements have also been made to avoid accidental warfare, including advance information about missile tests and non-attack on nuclear facilities agreements (Gregory 2005, 25). However, the rivalry between India and Pakistan has always remained severe and various steps of the CBMs have not succeeded in bringing harmony in the region because of innate suspicion and mistrust on both sides. The last episode of CBMs ended after the Mumbai attacks in 2008. Since then no efforts to build peace and tranquility in the region have materialized and a trajectory of terrorism and counter-terrorism is continuously forcing the bilateral relationship into chaos.

Analysis of the historical context regarding the India–Pakistan rivalry provides an understanding of Pakistan's security concerns about India's ambitious intentions. Pakistan has had to face India's hostile attitude from the very initial days of independence and India has not missed any opportunity to destabilize Pakistan. India went to the extent of dismembering Pakistan in 1971 while Pakistan, despite having an opportunity in 1962 during the Sino-Indian war, did not do so. The Indian intervention and dismemberment of Pakistan in 1971 and simultaneous nuclear tests in 1974 compelled Pakistan to pursue the nuclear path. Though India claims that its nuclear program is China-centric, the actual victim of its nuclear threat has been Pakistan. India has threatened Pakistan several times, to which Pakistan responded in the same manner. Despite facing a hostile attitude from India, Pakistan has always pursued a path of negotiations to settle disputes with India. But Pakistan's intentions for peace have been responded to with rogue attitudes and allegations. Both countries tried to pursue CBMs on several occasions but failed to achieve the desired

goal. One of the reasons for failure is the hostile conduct of India, who has mostly refrained from negotiating a settlement by disconnecting dialogue. However, the above-mentioned analysis provides an understanding of the nature of calamity in the region that may bring the two nuclear-armed nations to war with each other.

Note

1 On September 29, 2016, the Indian Army's Director General Military Operations (DGMO), Lieutenant-General Ranbir Singh, held a press conference and claimed to have conducted surgical strikes against the terrorists inside Pakistani territory. He claimed that "the 'surgical strikes' were launched following 'very specific and credible information that some terrorist units had positioned themselves to infiltrate'… Significant casualties have been caused to these terrorists and those who are trying to support them… Some terrorist teams had positioned themselves at launch pads along the Line of Control" (Al-Jazeera 2016c). However, Indian claims were categorically rejected by Pakistan and attributed Indian claims as an "illusion" for the purpose of false effects and fabrication of truth. In a statement, Pakistan's Inter-Services Public Relations ISPR stated that "There had been cross border fire initiated and conducted by India which is [an] existential phenomenon… The notion of surgical strike linked to alleged terrorists' bases is an illusion being deliberately generated by India to create false effects… This quest by Indian establishment to create media hype by rebranding cross border fire as surgical strike is fabrication of truth" (Al-Jazeera 2016c).

8 Pakistan's security calculus and strategic equilibrium with India

As the chapter about the taxonomy of the Pakistan–India strategic rivalry shows, both countries have always been in conflict with each other. Since the very first day of independence from the British rule, Pakistan has been caught in a security enigma because of the Indian threat. Both states have always considered each other a threat to their security and have been involved in an arms race, which led them to the development of nuclear weapons and advanced delivery systems. The two countries have active weapons development programs, which pose a great danger to the peace and stability in the region. Several situations signaled the fragility of nuclear escalation in the region: the nuclearization of South Asia in 1998 and subsequent events at Kargil in 1999, eyeball-to-eyeball military confrontation in 2002, and Indian claims of surgical strikes in 2016 and 2019, followed by Pakistan's response of hitting of an Indian Mig-21 and capturing the pilot.

In the wake of this fragility, two major paradigm illustrations become relevant regarding nuclear deterrence in South Asia. One paradigm, known as Deterrence Optimism, believes that nuclearization has significantly reduced the risk of future wars in the region because of the fear of huge devastation, while the second paradigm, known as Deterrence Pessimism, believes that nuclearization has heightened the dangerous characteristics of the region. Pessimists consider US involvement, rather than the fear of huge devastation, the major component playing a pivotal role in avoiding a nuclear escalation in the region. However, between these two camps of scholars, the viewpoint of Deterrence Optimists appears nearer to reality because the factor behind the intense US diplomacy (as claimed by Deterrence Pessimists) was also the effectiveness of nuclear weapons. US involvement in conflicts was intense due to US worries about a nuclear escalation in the region. The US role, too, would not have been so intense and caring in this regard (as it was during past crises and even during wars) if there were no nuclear weapons. The effectiveness of nuclear weapons behind the US role is evident from Bill Clinton's characterization of nuclear South Asia as the most dangerous place on earth.

Pakistan's security calculus

Pakistan, being a small state compared to India, has always been faced with the assertive and aggressive attitude of India as a self-assumed regional power. In

its ambition to become a global power, India has tried to suppress smaller states in the region but Pakistan has resisted India's greater might despite having meager resources. India considers Pakistan a great hurdle in its pursuance of great-power status and therefore a major threat for Indian security vis-à-vis China. Enmity with Pakistan has been so prevalent among the Indian masses that anti-Pakistan policies and slogans have become the determining factor for victory in Indian elections, so much so that the entire election campaigns in 2014 and 2019 of India's premier, Narendra Modi, were based on anti-Pakistan slogans. These slogans helped Prime Minister Modi enter into power in 2014, which consequently encouraged him to adopt more hawkish behavior toward Pakistan for the 2019 election campaign. Since Modi was in power during the 2019 Indian elections, he used his office to create anti-Pakistan hysteria in the masses to garner support in elections. The terrorist attacks in the Pulwama area of Indian-occupied Kashmir were used to legitimize Indian military strikes against Pakistan, which actually aimed at gaining electoral support from the masses.

As part of his election campaign, the Indian prime minister asked the Indian Air Force (IAF) to launch an attack against Pakistan just two months before the elections. The IAF launched an attack inside Pakistani territory on February 26, 2019, but was unable to inflict any significant damage on Pakistan. On February 27, 2019, Pakistan responded to the Indian aggression and shot down an IAF fighter Mig-21 in return. Pakistan also captured the IAF pilot, Abhinandan Varthaman. However, in a very short span, within a week, Pakistan sent back the Indian pilot. Pakistan's prime minister, Imran Khan, announced on the floor of the Pakistani Parliament that Pakistan would release the Indian pilot as a goodwill gesture, while his counterpart in India chose at every turn to demonize Pakistan and use such animosity to garner support not only at home but also in international politics. During his official visit to Bangladesh in June 2015, while admitting India's involvement in the breaking up of East Pakistan, he said, "If we had a diabolic mindset, we do not know what decision we would have taken" (*Dawn* 2015), reminding students at the university he was visiting of how India had intervened in the 1971 East Pakistan war. On the other hand he accused Pakistan of promoting terrorism inside India; this projection was taken by many analysts as instigating hatred against Pakistan (*Dawn* 2015).

Before that the former defense minister of India, Manohar Parrikar, had asserted that "terrorists have to be neutralized only through terrorists" (*Times of India* 2015). This indicates India's open admission of interfering in other countries' internal affairs. Similarly India's national security advisor and ex-spy, Ajit Kumar Doval, in his speech at SASTRA University in February 2014, clearly suggested an "offensive-defense" strategy by exploiting political, internal security, and economic fault lines within Pakistan (Neelakantan 2016). Thereafter, India's army chief of staff, General Bipin Rawat, made a series of belligerent remarks as he assumed command of Indian Army in January 2017. In an exclusive interview with *The Times of India*, Rawat boasted about the Indian

military's preparations to fight a simultaneous or "two-front war" against its main, nuclear-armed, strategic rivals: China and Pakistan. He said, "The two-front war is a real scenario.… Much has changed from before in terms of our capabilities.… The Army, Navy, and IAF are now jointly very much prepared for such an eventuality" (Rupasinghe 2017).

In March 2016, a serving Indian naval officer was arrested in the Balochistan province of Pakistan. He is alleged to have conducted terrorism and espionage for India's intelligence agency, the Research and Analysis Wing. He confessed that India is actively involved in supporting various acts of terrorism and other subversive activities inside Pakistan (Shah 2016). Apart from such subversive activities, India also tried to coerce Pakistan claiming it would carry out surgical strikes inside Pakistan. According to an official tweet by the Additional Directorate General of Public Information of the Indian Army on September 29, 2016, in a press conference statement India's director general of military operation, Lieutenant General Ranbir Singh, claimed to have conducted a "surgical strike" across the border inside Pakistan. He said, "The surgical strikes were launched following very specific and credible information that some terrorist units had positioned themselves to infiltrate … significant casualties have been caused to these terrorists and those who are trying to support them" (Indian Army, ADG PI 2016). Although, the surgical strike claim by India was instantly rejected by the Pakistan Army, it revealed India's intentions to dishonor the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Pakistan (Abbas 2016).

Indian leaders and officials have a record of publicly threatening Pakistan and taking an aggressive stance against its neighboring country. Former Indian Army chief, General Bikram Singh, in an interview, suggested the use of "kinetic/non-kinetic" and "overt/covert" means to punish Pakistan (Syed 2017). Even as an acting army chief back in 2013, General Bikram Singh had threatened aggression against Pakistan: "India reserves its right to retaliate against Pakistan at a time and place of its choice," he said (Mustafa 2013). Even extra-regional observers are quite skeptical of India's aggressive posture toward Pakistan. Lieutenant General Vincent Stewart, the head of the US Defense Intelligence Agency, while briefing senators on the US intelligence community's threat assessment for 2017–2018, warned US Congress that, "India may launch aggressive actions inside Pakistan on the pretext of stopping 'cross-border attacks' … India has sought and continues to move to isolate Pakistan diplomatically and is considering punitive options to raise the cost to Islamabad" (Iqbal 2017).

Prior to these developments, there were several pieces of evidence that India had been aggressive in its strategic approach toward Pakistan. According to a report in *Pakistan Today*, General V.K. Singh, the chief of India's army, proclaimed on October 14, 2010 that "Pakistan and China were a major security threat for India but India is well prepared to fight against the threats" (Tabassum 2010). Before this, General Deepak Kapoor, the Indian Army chief in 2009, gave a similar statement on the occasion of a seminar on November 24, 2009, that "the possibility of a limited war under a nuclear overhang is still very much

a reality at least in the Indian Sub-continent" (General Deepak Kapoor 2009). The same army chief announced that "India was ready to take on both Pakistan and China in a 'two-front war' simultaneously" (Tabassum 2010). The Pakistan-centric threat perception of India is evident in the words of a renowned Indian analyst, the late K. Subrahmanyam, who said "Pakistan had been exploring the role of terror in war … Pakistan had made terror the child of deterrence" (Sharma 2010). India's national security policy can also be assessed from the remarks of the Indian national security advisor, Shivshankar Menon: "a limited war in nuclear conditions to deter adversaries was a possibility" (Sharma 2010).

Given the analysis of the facts in earlier chapters, based on the Realist paradigm, Pakistani security officials as well as the public have always been conscious about Indian developments in combat capabilities. Pakistan's existence revolves around its security against the Indian threat perception. India has already proven in various ways that it will use force against Pakistan whenever needed, but Pakistan has deterred India's aggressive posture with the threat of massive retaliation to ensure its security. In this context, it is understood that the nature of the threat and threat perception in Pakistan has always been relevant to India's hostile ambitions regarding the existence of Pakistan. Being the main determinant of Pakistan's security, Indian developments in areas such as nuclear, military, and defense, become a source of concern to Pakistan's security imperatives. Thus, approaches to security in Pakistan are totally focused on Indian developments in the region and their impact on Pakistan. Studies on India–Pakistan relations reveal competing causal claims from both sides. Sheen Rajmaira writes:

> India–Pakistan foreign policy behavior exhibits strong short-term relations in the context of long-term memories that shape future expectations of their bilateral relations. The legacy of suspicion between these two countries provides sober insight into the possibilities for reducing conflict and promoting cooperation in South Asia.
>
> (Rajmaira 1997, 547)

Discussing the logic of nuclear balance in South Asia, Kamran Shahid states that:

> national security is a fundamental and uncompromising goal of every nation-state. The problem of security logically arises with countries that are close enough, powerful enough, and significant to us in both positive and negative ways, so that their action can threaten our national interests and national security.
>
> (Shahid 2008)

In this scenario, Pakistan's security problem arises with developing Indian national and military power, which cannot be ignored if the survival of Pakistan in the region is to be ensured.

In the international system, in the case of a war, states usually use conventional weapons and if one of the belligerent states has nuclear weapon capability there is a possibility that they would use it for the ultimate destruction of the enemy (such as in Japan's case). If there is a marked conventional military asymmetry between belligerent states that have nuclear weapons, there are chances of their use, while uncertainty about the first strike enhances the danger of nuclear attack by either of adversary. Therefore, in the India–Pakistan case, there are chances of nuclear escalation. Since the advent of nuclear weapons, Pakistan has always relied on the nuclear threat to deter India from either launching a limited war or following a policy of "Cold Start" against Pakistan because Pakistan has less conventional warfare capability compared to India. The conventional military asymmetries between the two nuclear-armed rivals pose a great threat to the strategic stability in the region and enhance the risk of nuclear escalation.

India–Pakistan conventional military asymmetries

In terms of quantity, the India–Pakistan conventional military balance is in India's favor. Rodney Jones, the president of Policy Architects International and specialist on nuclear security policy issues, commented on the increasing conventional military asymmetries between Pakistan and India by stating that "the growing disparities over time in defense expenditures and acquisition of major conventional military equipment suggest that India's capabilities to fight with combined arms techniques have significantly outpaced Pakistan's" (Jones 2005, 3), Although, Pakistan tried to maintain conventional military equilibrium, a lack of resources did not allow it to match with India, who have enjoyed comparatively huge resources available to build conventional military capabilities and a healthy defense budget over the last three decades.

This asymmetry between the two neighboring countries was taken into account by Pakistan's apex body for strategic planning, the National Command Authority (NCA), in its twenty-second meeting, held on February 24, 2016, chaired by Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif. The meeting expressed alarm over India's growing conventional and nuclear arsenals, and took serious note of the growing conventional and strategic weapons development in the region, according to a press statement issued by the Inter-Services Public Relations (ISPR) (NCA 2016). Similarly, in a meeting held on September 9, 2015, the NCA reviewed the regional security environment and was briefed on fast-paced strategic and conventional capabilities developments taking place in the neighborhood. It expressed its concerns over the evolving security dynamics of South Asia. While considering the growing conventional asymmetry, it reiterated the national resolve to maintain a "full spectrum deterrence capability" in line with the dictates of a "credible minimum deterrence" to deter all forms of aggression, adhering to the policy of avoiding an arms race (NCA 2015). Likewise, on September 5, 2013, the NCA, while pondering

developments at the international and regional levels, reiterated that Pakistan's policies are a reaction to developments taking place (NCA 2013). Indian developments and the growing disparity have continuously been noted by the NCA. After its sixteenth meeting on January 13, 2010, an NCA press release stated:

> India continues to pursue an ambitious militarization program and offensive military doctrines [entailing] the massive induction of advanced weapon systems by India including installation of ABMs [anti-ballistic missiles], the build-up of the nuclear arsenal, and delivery systems through ongoing and new programs, assisted by some external quarters.
>
> (NCA 2010)

Rodney Jones, undertaking a historical review explains:

> In the late 1950s and 1960s, Pakistan was powerful enough militarily to believe it had a chance of shaking India's hold over Kashmir in a localized conflict. But Pakistan never enjoyed a military capacity to invade India deeply or to press for anything like a strategic advantage. Even after 1971, Pakistan's conventional military capacity to block air and armored assault by India was substantial. But this blocking capability has been eroding as a consequence of India's ambitious military modernization of the 1980s and 1990s. Constraints on Pakistan's ability to acquire modern systems have slowed its own conventional modernization by comparison with India's so that the capability gap continues to widen.
>
> (Jones 2005, 3)

Due to the longstanding enmity, the armed forces on both sides remain hostile toward each other. The continuous hostility demands heavy expenditure on defense by the two countries, who have continued to spend a huge part of their budgets on defense. Being technologically less-advanced countries, both have to import a lot of military equipment from technologically advanced countries. However, both also have indigenous weapon development programs as well as industrial bases at home. Defense procurement from abroad and indigenous development programs are a huge burden on the economies of both countries. Being a large country with a strong economy, India has an advantage over Pakistan and has outpaced Pakistan in defense research and development programs at home, as well as securing huge arms procurements from abroad. With successive increases in military spending, India had become the fourth largest military spender in the world by 2018. According to the SIPRI yearbook 2010 (from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute), India was placed ninth among the top 10 military spenders of the world with 36.3 billion US dollars and a 2.4 percent share in the whole world's military expenditure (Kile et al. 2010). This position further improved in 2011 and India became the seventh largest military spender in the world with 48.9 billion US dollars

(SIPRI Yearbook 2012). The SIPRI yearbook 2012 declared India the world's largest arms importer with 10 percent of total global arms transfers (SIPRI Yearbook 2012).

A website about the conventional military capabilities of the world ranks India as the fourth largest military power in the world while placing Pakistan fifteenth among the top 55 countries in the world (Global Fire Power 2012). By 2016, India was promoted to sixth among the top 10 military spenders of the world with 52.2 billion US dollars and a 3.1 percent share in the whole world's military expenditure (Stockholm 2016). In 2017, India became the fifth largest military spender with a military expenditure raised to $63.9 billion (SIPRI Yearbook 2018). According to the SIPRI year book 2019, India became the fourth largest military spender with an expenditure of $66.5 billion in 2018 (SIPRI Yearbook 2019). Moreover, India became the second largest importer of arms as per the classification given in the SIPRI yearbook 2019 with a 9.5 percent share in the global arms trade (SIPRI Yearbook 2019). Such a rapid increase in military spending by India has not gone unnoticed by Pakistan, who is increasingly being targeted by hostile Indian policies in the region. Another factor behind such a rapid increase of military expenditure is the overwhelming US support to India for defense cooperation under the India–US Strategic Partnership. This partnership has enhanced Indian access to foreign defense equipment through various exceptional concessions granted to India by the US, such as Strategic Trade Authorization-1 status by the US.

A comparative analysis of India–Pakistan military expenditures and armed forces is given below to provide an insight into the asymmetries that create a security enigma for Pakistan and convince it to focus on its nuclear capability to

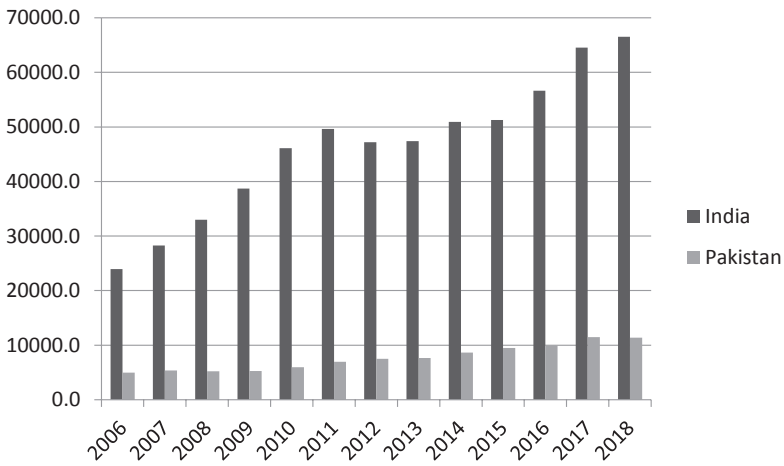

Figure 8.1 Comparison of India–Pakistan defense expenditure in US$ (millions).

Source: Chart generated through data obtained from the SIPRI Military Expenditure Database as of June 2019.

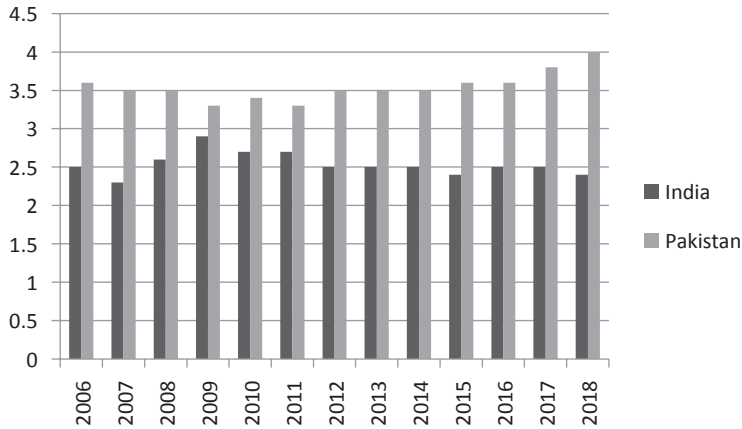

Figure 8.2 Comparison of India–Pakistan military expenditure as percentage of GDP.

Source: Chart generated through data obtained from the SIPRI Military Expenditure Database as of June 2019.

Table 8.1 Military Expenditure in India and Pakistan 2006–2018

Year	*US dollar in millions*		*Percentage of GDP*	
	India	*Pakistan*	*India*	*Pakistan*
2006	23,951.9	4969.2	2.5	3.6
2007	28,254.8	5342.6	2.3	3.5
2008	33,002.4	5226.7	2.6	3.5
2009	38,722.2	5274.6	2.9	3.3
2010	46,090.4	5974.6	2.7	3.4
2011	49,633.8	6954.8	2.7	3.3
2012	47,216.9	7479	2.5	3.5
2013	47,403.5	7645.5	2.5	3.5
2014	50,914.1	8654.9	2.5	3.5
2015	51,295.5	9483.5	2.4	3.6
2016	56,637.6	9973.8	2.5	3.6
2017	64,559.4	11,461.3	2.5	3.8
2018	66,510.3	11,375.5	2.4	4.0

Source: Chart created from data obtained from the SIPRI Military Expenditure Database 2019 (the figures are taken from the entirely downloadable database as of June 2019, which may change in the more updated versions) www.sipri.org/databases/milex

deter any aggression from India. The widening gap in expenditure between the two states, as shown in the tables below, indicates that Pakistan will have to eventually rely on some extraordinary arrangements in conventional military forces and enhance its dependence on a nuclear deterrence.

Table 8.2 Comparison of Military Personnel in India and Pakistan (in thousands)

Military Personnel	*Army*		*Navy*		*Air Force*		*Total*	*Total Active*
Country	*Active*	*Reserve*	*Active*	*Reserve*	*Active*	*Reserve*		
Pakistan	560	0	23.8	0	70	0	653.8	**653.8**
India	1200	960	58.35	55	127.2	140	2540.55	**1385.55**

Source: Table is formulated based on data obtained from The Military Balance 2018, pp. 260, 291

India–Pakistan missile technology comparison

Regarding conventional military capabilities, Pakistan is no match for Indian. Even if Pakistan tried to maintain parity with India, it would have to do it at the unbearable cost of other more important national problems such as social and economic matters. Therefore, keeping in view such constraints, Pakistan's security officials have to rely upon missile technology because of the comparatively durable security arrangement offered. At the moment, Pakistan has sufficient missile technology to provide a reliable delivery system to launch a nuclear strike if needed. But, the emerging new technologies in missile development and missile defense systems around the world, and Indian access to such systems through US assistance, give a cautionary call to Pakistan's security personnel and signify the intense need for innovations in this field based on indigenous resources.

Indian missile systems

India has a multipurpose missile system comprising land-based ballistic missiles, sea-based ballistic missiles, and cruise missiles (Kile et al. 2016, 641–646). Indian missiles are also categorized in accordance with their function, range, and payload capacity. India's strategic missile systems are Prithvi (short-range), Agni (intermediate-range), and Surya (intercontinental range), which are considered to be under development. Besides this, India also has missiles like Trishul, Akash, and Nag. However, Prithvi and Agni are the main missile series that can perform a strategic function.

Prithvi-1 is a surface-to-surface missile assigned to the Indian Army, has been successfully flight tested several times, and has a range of 150 kilometers with a 1000-kg payload capacity. According to the SIPRI Yearbook 2009, "Prithvi entered into service in 1994 with a nuclear delivery role.… The recent test flight was conducted on May 9, 2007, and fewer than 50 launchers are deployed to launch a strike in case of any escalation" (Kile et al. 2016). According to *The Times of India*, Prithvi-2 assigned to the IAF, has a range of 350 kilometers with a payload capacity of 500 to 1000 kilograms; it was last successfully flight tested on March 11, 2011 (*Times of India* 2011). Another effort to test-fire Prithvi-2 on December 21, 2011, was put off due to technical problems.

According to a report by *The Hindu*, "A one-line press release issued by S.P. Dash, director, ITR said the launch was postponed due to a technical snag" (*Hindu* 2011). Prithvi-3 is assigned to the Indian Navy for multiple uses and its modified versions, Dhanush and Sagarika, were deployed on ship platforms initially for flight tests because at that time India did not have a nuclear-capable submarine. According to a press release on November 8, 2004, by the Press Information Bureau on the occasion of the Dhanush missile test, the missile is the naval version of Prithvi series, having a range of 350 kilometers, can carry conventional as well as a nuclear warhead (Indian Ministry of Defence 2004). Dhanush was again tested in December 2009, March 2010, and March 2011 (*Economic Times* 2011). Lately, Prithvi-3 or Dhanush was again tested on November 26, 2015, from INS *Subhadra* in the Bay of Bengal (*India Today* 2016). The limited range of up to 350 kilometers means that Prithvi series missiles are meant to hit targets in Pakistan and can be used for tactical purposes by all the three branches of the Indian military.

Agni is a short-range, medium-range, intermediate-range, and intercontinental (ICBM) range ballistic missile series, consisting of different versions: Agni-I, Agni-II, Agni-III, Agni-IV, Agni-V, and Agni-VI. Agni-I development was started in 1999 and the missile was tested for the first time in January 2002 but failed. Tests were also conducted in January 2003 and July 2004 (Agni-1 2012). According to the SIPRI yearbook 2016, Agni-I has a range of 700 km with 1000 kg payload capacity and it was successfully tested at the Integrated Test Range complex on Wheeler Island, off the Odisha coast, by Strategic Force Command (SFC), during a regular training exercise on 27 November 2015 (Kile et al. 2016, 641–646). Agni-I was developed after Agni-II to fill the gap between shorter-range Prithvi missiles and the longer-range Agni-II. Another test of Agni-I was reported by *The Times of India*: "India on Sunday, March 28, 2010, successfully test-fired its indigenously developed, nuclear-capable, short-range ballistic missile (SRBM) Agni-1 from the Integrated Test Range (ITR) at Wheeler Island" (*Times of India* 2010b). Another test was conducted on November 25, 2010 (*Indian Express* 2010). On December 1, 2011, as reported by *The Indian Express*, a similar test of Agni-I was conducted successfully (*Indian Express* 2011).

Agni-II with a range of 2000–2500 km, capable of carrying both conventional and nuclear warheads up to 1000-kg payload capacity, was test-launched in April 1999, January 2001, and August 2004 (*Telegraph* 2004). The missile development also saw failure in December 2010 and a scheduled test was put off due to some snags in August 2011. However, it was again successfully tested in September 2011, and November 2011 (NDTV 2011). Agni-III, with a range of 3000 km and 1500-kg payload capacity, is a two-stage solid-fuel mobile missile; on April 16, 2015, the launch test of Agni-III was conducted as a part of an army user trial to establish the "repeatability" of the missile's performance, from the Wheeler Island test complex. Although Agni-III has been in service since 2011, its operationalization is still doubtful and developments are still under progress (Kile et al. 2016, 641–646). Agni-III was

first flight tested in July 2006 but did not succeed. However, more tests in April 2007, May 2008, and February 2010 were successful (Yahoo News 2010). The capability to induct Agni-III into the Indian strategic force was declared by Indian defense minister, A.K. Anthony, on August 9, 2010. Addressing to the Lok Sabha, Anthony said, "Agni-III with a range of 3000 km is ready for induction" (Anthony 2010).

Agni-IV is an advanced version of Agni-III with an enhanced range up to 6000 kilometers but it is still under development. According to a website on missile threats, design for the Agni-IV, basically an Agni-III with a third stage, is believed to have commenced in 2006. The two-stage Agni-IV incorporates several technological advances, including composite rocket engines, improved stage separation and a state-of-the-art navigation system. It was test-launched on November 2015 as part of an army user trial (Kile et al. 2016). Agni IV and V, with a planned range of 5000–6000 km, are India's first truly intercontinental ballistic missiles (Agni-4/5 2010).

According to *The Economic Times*, Indian defense minister A.K. Anthony declared at a Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) conference that "India is developing a 5,000 km-range Agni ballistic missile" (A.K. Anthony 2011). The DRDO has prioritized the development of the long-range, three-stage Agni-V missile, which allows the striking of targets throughout China. Agni-V incorporates a number of new indigenously developed propulsion and navigation system technologies, and is designed to be stored in and launched from a new mobile canister system, ensuring its readiness in crisis (Kile et al. 2016). Most recently Agni-V was test-fired for the third successive time using the canister system on January 31, 2015 (Pandit 2016). *The Hindu* reported on April 19, 2012, that "India successfully test-fired nuclear-capable Agni-V with more than 5,000 km-range carrying 1.1 ton payload capacity" (*Hindu* 2012). A nuclear-capable ICBM is reportedly under development, a follow-up on the Agni-V. The Agni-VI may be armed with multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs), though confirmation of this plan does not exist. Some claim that it will be able to deliver four to six warheads with a range of 6000 km (Arms Control Association 2017). Similarly, the Surya missile, an ICBM, is speculated to be in development by India. As the missile is yet to be developed, its specifications are not known and the entire program continues to remain highly secretive. However, it is believed that India may use an expendable launch system known as the Polar Satellite Launch Vehicle, developed and operated by the Indian Space Research Organization, to operationalize the Surya missile (Speier 2016).

India has also developed cruise missile systems, designed to be launched from all kinds of war platforms and has flight tested its first cruise missile, named BrahMos, developed in a joint venture with Russia. The BrahMos has a range of 290 kilometers and was flight tested on March 21, 2010 (*Times of India* 2010a). According to the official website of the BrahMos project, the missile can be used for land-to-land, sea-to-sea, sea-to-land, and land-to-sea purposes (BrahMos Aerospace 2011). The land- and sea-based versions are in service with

the Indian Army and Indian Navy. The air-launch and submarine-launch versions are also under development. The air-launch version for IAF is intended to be installed on a Su-30 MkI (*Economic Times* 2012). The tests of BrahMos (army version) were conducted on September 5, 2010, December 2, 2010, March 4, 2012, and March 28, 2012. The subsonic ground-launched cruise missile "Nirbhay", with a range of 700–1000 kilometers, is also widely rumored to be nuclear capable (Kile et al. 2016). After five failed tests, Nirbhay was successfully test-fired on April 15, 2019 (Gady 2019). It is a land-attack subsonic cruise missile capable of carrying both conventional and nuclear warheads to a range of 1000 km at a speed of 0.6–0.7 Mach (Gady 2019). The induction of the BrahMos, Prahaar, Nirbhay, and Pralay missiles depicts that India is modernizing its capabilities to have both countervalue and counterforce targeting capabilities. The chief executive officer of BrahMos Aerospace, Sudhil Kumar Mishra, stated that the range of the BrahMos missile has been enhanced up to 500 km (*Business Standard* 2019). The extension in range will enable India to hit anywhere inside Pakistan. The Indian Defence Ministry said that a Su-30 MKI fighter jet had successfully fired the 2.5-tonne missile, which has a range of about 300 kilometers (185 miles) (*Economic Times* 2019).

Pakistan's Missile Capability

In the wake of increasing conventional military disparity with India, Pakistan has relied mostly on nuclear deterrence to counter Indian predominance. However, credible nuclear deterrence was only possible with an efficient delivery system. Though Pakistan has the capability to deliver a nuclear weapons attack through its fighter jets, the Indian Air Force's dominance makes it less credible. Therefore, Pakistan chose to strengthen its nuclear deterrence through the development of missile capability. Pakistan's missile development programs enabled it to acquire state-of-the-art missile systems that can cover the whole range of its prime enemy. Pakistan's missiles are known as the Hatf series, from Hatf-1, Hatf-2, and so on. Hatf-1 was first flight tested in 1989 with a range of 60 to 80 kilometers with a 500-kilogram load capacity. Its range was further enhanced to 100 kilometers and tested in 2000. The Hatf-2, with its longer range, was also test-fired for the first time in 1989. Also known as Abdali, Hatf-2 can target any desired site with its range of 180 kilometers and its 500-kilogram load capacity. This missile can carry both conventional and nuclear warheads. Pakistan is also working on developing an upgraded version Hatf-2 known as "road-mobile" Abdali, which has varied maneuverability options and enhances operational level capability for the country's strategic forces. Hatf-2 has been flight tested almost six times since its inception in 2002, and was also tested in February 2013 according to an ISPR press release (ISPR 2013).

The Hatf-3 is a short-range ballistic missile, named Ghaznavi, and has a range of 290 kilometers and a 500-kilogram payload. Hatf-3 is reported to be nuclear capable and has been in service since 2004. It is believed that Hatf-3, along with Hatf-4, is similar to one of the Chinese DF-11 variants. Like the

DF-11, the Hatf-3 appears to be an improved "Scud" type ballistic missile. Its greatest military utility is in deployment against large, fixed targets such as military bases and airfields, and it poses a threat to civilian urban areas (Karako 2016). Hatf-3 was last test-fired on May 8, 2014, by the Strategic Missile Group of Army Strategic Forces Command (*Times of India* 2014). The Hatf-4, also known as Shaheen-1, was first flight tested in 1999 having a range of 750 kilometers with a payload capacity of 700 kilograms. According to a BBC report "Hatf-4 is into service with the Pakistani Army since 2003 and it was again test-launched on 25 January 2008 during a troop training exercise conducted by the Army Strategic Force Command" (ISPR 2013). An improved version of Hatf-4 was tested on April 25, 2012, and was called the Shaheen-1A weapon system by ISPR. According to a press release by ISPR, "[T]he missile is an improved version of Shaheen-1 with improvements in range and technical parameters. It is capable of carrying nuclear and conventional warheads" (ISPR 2012). Just like Hatf-3, Shaheen-1 and 1A also appear to be a scaled-up version of the Chinese DF-11 missile. Like the DF-11, the Hatf-4 is launched from a modified Russian "Scud-B" Transporter-Erector-Launcher (Norris and Kristensen 2016). Shaheen-1A is reportedly an extended-range version of the Hatf-4, and is undergoing testing. This variant is expected to have a range of 900 km and was tested in December 2015 (Haider 2015).

The Hatf-5, known as Ghauri, is an intermediate-range ballistic missile that was first test-launched in 1998. Hatf-5 has a range of 1500 kilometers and can carry a 700-kilogram payload with it. An improved version of Hatf-5, named Ghauri-2, was also tested in 1999 with a range of 2300 kilometers. The Hatf-5 is a medium-range, road-mobile, liquid-fueled ballistic missile. Its range and nuclear capability give it the ability to put targets deep within Indian territory at risk, making it a core part of Pakistan's strategic missile forces. The Ghauri uses a single-stage liquid-propellant engine. Liquid fuel can significantly increase launch preparation time and can complicate storage and transportation. The Ghauri-2, on the other hand, is also a medium-range, road-mobile, liquid-propellant ballistic missile, which is currently under development. It is a longer-range variant, developed by replacing the heavier steel construction with an aluminum alloy and using improved propellants. Its estimated range is approximately 1800 km (IHS 2015). Hatf-5 was successfully test-fired for the third time in December 2010 (Agence France-Presse 2010). Since then, the Ghauri missile has been tested several times, first in November 2012 and most recently in April 2015 from the Tilla Test Range. This test flight was monitored by the new Strategic Command and Control Support System (SCCSS) and is believed to have been geared toward testing SCCSS operational and technical readiness (Gady 2015b).

Hatf-6, also known as Shaheen-2, a long-range missile that can hit targets with a range of 2000–2500 kilometers, was unveiled in March 2000. According to *The Nation*, "On April 19, 2008, the Pakistani military announced that a Shaheen-II missile had been successfully test-launched to a range of 2000 km" (*The Nation* 2008). According to the SIPRI yearbook 2009, "The Shaheen II's

range of 2000–2500 km means that it can reach targets across India. Pakistani officials have denied that the country was seeking to develop longer-range ballistic missiles that could strike targets outside the region" (Kile et al. 2016). Subhash Kapila described Shaheen-2 missiles as the cornerstone of Pakistan's defense system: "With its ground mobility and solid-state propellant systems it should logically form the backbone of the Pakistani nuclear deterrent. With mobility comes survivability and therefore the Shaheen-II could impart to Pakistan a second-strike capability in the future" (Kapila 2000). Hatf-6 is also believed to be a two-stage version of the Hatf-4 (Shaheen-1) design, using a modified Hatf-4 as the second stage motor and re-entry vehicle. It is believed that the Hatf-6 is based on China's M-18, though this has not been confirmed (O'Halloran 2015b). On November 13, 2014, a successful training launch of the Shaheen-2 missile was conducted by Army Strategic Force Command, which, according to officials, had revalidated different designs and technical parameters of the weapons system and had consolidated the gaps in maintaining a full-spectrum credible minimum deterrence (ISPR 2014).

Hatf-7, also known as Babur, is a nuclear-capable cruise missile with a range of 500–700 kilometers, which was flight tested in December 2007 and efforts are underway to increase its range from 700 to 1000 kilometers. A flight test of Hatf-7 was conducted in February 2011 with a range of 600 kilometers (Press Trust of India 2011). Another test was carried out on June 5, 2012, with a range of 700 kilometers. According to an ISPR Pakistan press release, "Babur Cruise Missile is a low flying, terrain hugging missile with high maneuverability, pin-point accuracy and radar avoidance features. It can carry both nuclear and conventional warheads and has stealth capabilities" (ISPR 2012d). Pakistan has also developed the air-launched version of the cruise missile. Development of Babur started in the 1990s as a response to the Indian cruise missile program. The missile began testing in August 2005. Subsequently, at least ten flight tests occurred through July 2014. The system is believed to have entered service in 2010 (Norris and Kristensen 2016).

Hatf-8, also known as Ra'ad, is an air-launched cruise missile with a range of 350 kilometers that can carry conventional as well as nuclear warheads. According to a press release by ISPR Pakistan, Hatf-8 was first flight tested in August 2007 through a Mirage Fighter Jet and has a "special stealth capability" that makes it invulnerable (ISPR 2008). According to a report by the daily, *Dawn*, "On 8 May 2008 Pakistan conducted the second test launch of the Ra'ad as part of a continuing process of validating the design parameters" (*Dawn* 2008b). Hatf-8 was again successfully flight tested on April 29, 2011 (PTV News 2011). Another test of Hatf-8 was conducted with a range of 350 kilometers on May 31, 2012. According to a press release by ISPR, "A major additional feature of test was the effective employment of the National Command Authority's fully automated Strategic Command and Control Support System (SCCSS)" (ISPR, 2012). According to an earlier report by *The Pakistan Tribune* about the possible launch of the Hatf-8 missile, "Ra'ad will reportedly be carried by F-16 and JF-17 aircraft" (*Pakistan Tribune* 2007). Another successful test of

a locally developed "Ra'ad" was conducted in January 2016: "The state of the art Ra'ad ALCM (air-launched cruise missile) is equipped with highly advanced guidance and navigation system that ensures engagement of targets with pin-point accuracy" a military spokesperson said (Agence France-Presse 2016).

According to an Agence France-Presse report, Hatf-9 is a surface-to-surface short-range ballistic missile with a range of only 60 kilometers that can carry nuclear warheads to the target. Hatf-9, also known as Nasr, was flight tested on April 19, 2011, and May 29, 2012 (ISPR 2012b). It is reported to be used as a "tactical nuclear deterrence by Islamabad against advancing enemy formations" (Agence France-Presse 2011). Another test of Nasr was conducted in July 2017, based on these tests, Pakistan's military claims to have enhanced the rocket's flight maneuverability and extended its range from 60 to 70 km. Pakistani officials emphasized the missile's deterrent effect, saying "This weapon system will augment credible deterrence against prevailing threat spectrum more effectively, including anti-missile defenses. Nasr is a high-precision weapon system with the ability of quick deployments" (Gul 2017). In order to achieve an assured second-strike capability, Pakistan has also developed a sea-launched version of the cruise missile. According to a news report in the daily, *The Nation*, the sea-launched cruise missile was supposed to be deployed on Agosta submarines (*Nation* 2006). As per *The Express Tribune*'s report on January 9, 2017, the missile was launched from an undisclosed location in the Indian Ocean (*Express Tribune* 2017). According to a statement released by ISPR on January 24, 2017, Pakistan test-fired its first-ever surface-to-surface medium-range ballistic missile, known as Ababeel, with a maximum range of 2200 kilometers. The missile can carry both conventional and nuclear warheads and is claimed to use MIRVs, a first for Pakistan's arsenal (Ghafoor 2017). Army chief General Qamar Bajwa said that Nasr had put cold water on a Cold Start. Pakistan conducted another successful test launch of Nasr on January 31, 2019 (Siddiqui 2019). Moreover, Pakistan conducted successfully a training launch of the surface-to-surface ballistic missile Shaheen-2 on May 23, 2019. It can carry both conventional and nuclear warheads up to a range of 1500 kilometers (*Dawn* 2019b) and works to accomplish Pakistan's strategic needs to preserve the deterrence stability of South Asia.

India–Pakistan nuclear forces

The nuclearization of South Asia against the backdrop of India–Pakistan rivalry has made the region a major source of concern to the international community. The animosity between the two nuclear-armed South Asian adversaries has furthered the danger of nuclear escalation and pronounced a new pattern of "cold war" in the region. Although both states claim to pursue the policy of minimum nuclear deterrence, neither has halted nuclear-related developments. Pakistan and India are the two major states out of only four in the world that are not members of the NPT and other non-proliferation efforts that can affect their strategic programs. In fact, both states have always resisted non-proliferation

regimes that could cap their nuclear weapon development by any means. Despite international concerns and criticism, both countries have a continuously developing nuclear program and neither has yet specified the minimum requirements that could define the so-called credible minimum deterrence claimed by both. According to Dinshaw Mistry:

> Indian officials have estimated that a credible minimum deterrent would require 36 to 150 nuclear weapons, which are capable of surviving a first strike and then delivering approximately one megaton equivalent (fifty weapons of 20 kilotons or a smaller number of higher yield thermonuclear weapons) on about six cities, ten military targets, and two infrastructure targets in Pakistan.
>
> (Mistry 2005, 51)

On the other side, Pakistan's minimum requirements also remain ambiguous. According to an interview with General Ehsan-ul-Haq, the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, "Pakistani officials claim that the country has already produced more warheads than needed to satisfy its 'minimum deterrence requirement' but this requirement remains subject to review according to the prevailing circumstances" (Ehasan-ul-Haq 2006).

Authentic/confirmed data about the available nuclear weapons of the two countries is difficult to obtain due to official constraints. However, different international studies have assessed the quantity of nuclear arsenal available to both countries, providing an estimate of their capabilities. According to an estimate by the SIPRI database on the world's nuclear warhead forces until January 2016, the approximate stockpiles of Indian warheads are 110–120 while Pakistan has 110–130 (Kile et al. 2016). According to a study on global nuclear inventories 1945–2013 by Robert S. Norris and Hans M. Kristensen, published in the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*:

> India is estimated to have assembled 90–110 warheads and produced enough fissile material for 150–200 nuclear warheads; Pakistan is estimated to have assembled 100–120 warheads and produced fissile material for as many as 220–250 warheads.… Both countries are believed to be increasing their stockpiles.
>
> (Kristensen and Norris 2013)

Another study by the Federation of American Scientists about the status of world nuclear forces in 2017 estimates that India has 110–120 nuclear weapons while Pakistan has 120–130 nuclear weapons in their stockpiles (Status of World Nuclear Forces 2017). As per the Arms Control Association report on proliferation in 2017, India has an estimated nuclear arsenal of 120–130 nuclear warheads while Pakistan is believed to house a nuclear arsenal of 130–140 warheads according to similar reports (ACA 2017a and 2017b). Similarly, a report on nuclear disarmament in both India and Pakistan published by

Nuclear Threat Initiative reveals that India's estimated stockpile is 110–120 warheads (NTI 2017a), while that of Pakistan is 130–140 (NTI 2017b).

Due to the intensely hostile nature of the relationship between the two countries, both are continuing to obtain as much fissile material as possible to counter the other. Observing the dangers of nuclear build-up in the region, Daryl Kimball noted:

> India and Pakistan each claim to want only a "minimal credible deterrent," but the end of their nuclear and missile buildup is not in sight. Indian and Pakistani support for negotiations on a global fissile material cutoff treaty (FMCT) is weak at best.
>
> (Kimball 2009)

Kimball highlighted the Indian conviction by quoting the Indian ambassador, Nirupama Rao, who said that "New Delhi would allow multilateral talks to begin but would 'not accept obligations' that hinder India's 'strategic program' or research and development or those that place an undue burden on our military non-proscribed activities" (Kimball 2009). Analyzing the Indian claim about credible minimum deterrence, Cohen and Gupta write:

> The dominant Indian position is that India's nuclear forces should be large enough to survive a first strike, thus deterring both Pakistan and China; and that a small but robust (and technically advanced) Indian arsenal would be sufficient. However, since deterrence is first and foremost a guess about psychology and mindsets, the Indian nuclear establishment argues that it must be free to adjust its arsenal to meet the rise and fall in threats.
>
> (Cohen and Dasgupta 2010)

Cohen raised the question of how much is enough and said that "it is hard to answer as calculations of 'unacceptable' damage may vary from regime to regime or from time to time. The same calculation will have to be made in the case of Pakistan" (Cohen and Dasgupta 2010). On the other side, Pakistan also claims to maintain a credible minimum deterrence and rejects any international effort to cap its strategic development programs.

In 2011, Pakistan's representative at the Conference on Disarmament (CD) severely criticized the role of superpowers at the CD who aimed at pressurizing Pakistan to agree to the negotiations on the Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT). Discussing the failure of the CD, pointed out by the UN secretary-general, Pakistan's representative said on June 1, 2011:

> The CD's history clearly demonstrates a regular pattern of negotiating only those agreements that do not undermine or compromise the security interests of states, especially the major powers. The BWC and CWC [biological and chemical weapons convention] were negotiated only after possession of vast numbers of nuclear weapons made biological and

> chemical weapon systems superfluous and redundant for the major powers. Similarly, the major powers were ready to conclude the CTBT [Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty] only after they had carried out a sufficient number of nuclear tests and further testing became unnecessary. The same is the case with the FMCT.
>
> (Akram 2011a)

Pakistan has already refused to agree to the negotiations on FMCT at CD on the basis of discriminatory behavior by the great powers about nuclear cooperation. Pakistan's representative in CD said on January 25, 2011:

> Over the last two years, Pakistan has clearly stated that it cannot agree to negotiations on an FMCT in the CD owing to the discriminatory waiver provided by the NSG [Nuclear Suppliers Group] to our neighbor for nuclear cooperation by several major powers, as this arrangement will further accentuate the asymmetry in fissile materials stockpiles in the region, to the detriment of Pakistan's security interests. As we have also pointed out earlier, Pakistan has been compelled to take this position due to the selective and discriminatory action of certain states in violation of their own national and international commitments, in pursuit of profit and outdated Cold War concepts of containment and balance of power.
>
> (Akram 2011b)

Pointing out the "cost-free" approach of the major powers toward non-proliferation efforts, Ambassador Zameer Akram said in June 2011 that "major powers are ready to conclude a treaty that will only ban future production of fissile material since they no longer need more of it. This approach is 'cost-free' for them as this will not undermine or compromise their security" (Akram 2011a). Akram stressed that "The kind of 'a la carte' approach to disarmament may be desirable for some countries but remains unacceptable for others" (Akram 2011a). Although India has agreed to negotiate FMCT, it also attached its approval with the national security of India. India's Ambassador Hamid Ali Rao said on February 3, 2011:

> India, as a country possessing nuclear weapons, is willing to conclude a universal, non-discriminatory and internationally verifiable Treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. It is obvious that the Treaty would have to meet India's national security interests.
>
> (Rao 2011)

The analysis of viewpoints on nuclear weapon development in both India and Pakistan shows that they attach their willingness to curtail their nuclear capability to their national security interests. It can also be seen that both states have high stakes for their security regarding each other's developments. A comparative analysis of Pakistan's and India's nuclear forces is now given, which provides

Table 8.3 Comparison of Nuclear Forces in India and Pakistan

Pakistan						*India*				
Nuclear arsenal	SIPRI (2017)	FAS (2017)	BAS (2017)	ACA (2017	NTI (2017)	SIPRI (2017)	FAS (2017)	BAS (2017)	ACA (2017)	NTI (2017)
Nuclear weapons	130–140	120–130	130–140	140	130–140	120–130	110–120	120–130	130	110–120
Fissile material (tonnes)	3.1±0.4 (HEU)	3.1 (HEU)	3.1 (HEU) & 0.19 (Pu)	3.1±0.4 (HEU) & 0.19 Pu	3.1±0.4 (HEU) & 0.2 (Pu)	3.2±1.1 (Pu)	0.6 (Pu)	0.6 (Pu)	0.59±0.2 (Pu)	0.59±0.18 (Pu) & 3.2±0.9 (HEU)
Delivery systems	*Designation*	*Range (km)*	*Payload (kg)*	*Status*	*No. of warheads*	*Designation*	*Range (km)*	*Payload (kg)*	*Status*	*No. of warheads*
Aircraft	F-16A/B	1600	4500	OP/D	24	Mirage 2000/ Vajra	1800	6300	OP/D	16
	Mirage III/V	2100	4000	OP/D	12	Jaguar IS/IB/ Shamsher	1600	4775	OP/D	32
	JF-17 Thunder			P	NA	Mig-27			P	NA
						Su 30 MKI			P	NA
						Prithvi II (A.V)	350	500	OP/D	
Land-based missiles	Hatf-1	100	500	OP/D	105	Prithvi I	150	1000	OP/D	24
	Abdali (H-2) (SRBM)	180	500	OP/D	NA	Agni I	700+	1000	OP/D	20
	Ghaznavi (Hatf-3)	290	700	OP/D	16	Agni II	2000+	1000	OP/D	16
	Shaheen-1 (H-4)	750	1000	OP/D	16	Agni III	3000+	1500	OP/D	8
	Shaheen-1A (H-4)	900	1000	OP/D	NA	Agni IV	5000	1000	OP/D	NA
	Shaheen-2 (H-6)	1500	1250	OP/D	12	Agni V	5000	1500	OP/D	NA

Continued

Table 8.3 continued

Pakistan						*India*				
	Shaheen-3 (H-10?)	2750	NA	OP/D	NA	Agni-VI (I/R)	8000–12,000	1000	U	NA
	Ghauri (H-5)	1250	500	OP/D	24	Surya (I/R; MIRV)	12,000–16,000	55,000	P	NA
	Nasr (H-9) (SRBM)	60	400	OP/D	24					
	Ababeel (MIRV)	2200	NA	T/S	NA					
Sea-based missiles	Babur-2 (H-7) (SLCM)	700		T/S	NA	Dhanush (SHL)	350	500	OP/D	2
						Sagarika/K-15 (SML)	700	600	OP/D	12
						Arihant submarine as platform for Sagarika				
						K-4 (SLBM)	3500	2000	T	NA
						Prithvi-3 (N.V)	600	1,000	OP/D	NA
						Agni-VI (SML)	8000–10,000	3000	U	NA
						Surya (SML; I/R)	10,000	55,000	P	NA
Cruise missiles	Babur-1 (H-7) (GLCM)	700	Radar Avoider	OP/D	12	Nirbhay	1000	1500	U	NA
	Ra'ad (H-8) (ALCM)	350	Stealth	OP/D						

Source: Kristensen and Norris 2017a and 2017b; *The Military Balance* 2017; Gady 2017a; *SIPRI Yearbook* 2017; Federation of American Scientists 1998; Arms Control Association n.d.; *Dawn* 2016d; Associated Press of Pakistan 2015; *Hindu* 2012; *Hindu* 2013; *Hindu* 2016a

Key:
OP: Operational, **SHL:** Ship launched, **ARL:** Air launched, **T:** Tested, **PD:** Possible deployment, **MIRV:** Multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicle **D:** Deployed, **S:** Success, **SML:** Submarine launched, **P:** Possible, **U:** Under development, **F:** Failure, **SRBM:** Short range ballistic missile, **SLCM:** Submarine-launched cruise missile, **I/R:** Intercontinental range, **A.V:** Air version, **N.V:** Naval version, **U.C:** Unconfirmed.

information about the available nuclear arsenal and delivery systems from different platforms.

Both India and Pakistan have also developed their nuclear doctrines. Indian nuclear doctrine is publicly declared and properly published, while Pakistan's nuclear doctrine is not openly declared but can be derived from statements of eminent personalities at key policy-making levels in Pakistan. India's nuclear doctrine was officially declared for the first time in 1999 soon after the Kargil incident. Declaring the draft nuclear doctrine during a press conference on August 17, 1999, Brajesh Mishra, the then national security advisor, said "Our nuclear weapons are not country-specific.… Minimum but credible deterrence is the watchword of our nuclear doctrine" (Mishra 1999). The 1999 draft nuclear doctrine declares India's policy of "no first use" and mentions that "India will not be the first to initiate a nuclear strike, but will respond with punitive retaliation" (India's Draft Nuclear Doctrine 1999). Describing the nuclear threshold, the draft doctrine proclaimed that nuclear weapons shall be used in retaliation to any nuclear attack. The 1999 nuclear doctrine mentions that "any nuclear attack on India and its forces shall result in punitive retaliation with nuclear weapons to inflict damage unacceptable to the aggressor" (India's Draft Nuclear Doctrine 1999). The draft nuclear doctrine also pledged negative security assurance and stated that "India will not resort to the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons against States which do not possess nuclear weapons, or are not aligned with nuclear weapon powers" (India's Draft Nuclear Doctrine 1999). Discussing the operationalization of Indian nuclear weapons, the draft report by the National Security Advisory Board proclaims "the development and maintenance of credible minimum deterrence based upon a strategic triad of nuclear forces (land-based, air-based and sea-based), second-strike capability and punitive retaliation with nuclear weapons if deterrence were to fail" (Government of India 1999). However, the nuclear doctrine was amended in 2003, providing additional guidelines.

The cabinet committee on security reviewed the operationalization of the Indian nuclear doctrine and added that "India would also retain the option to use nuclear weapons to deter or retaliate against the use of chemical or biological weapons on Indian territory or Indian forces anywhere" (The Cabinet Committee on Security Reviews Operationalization of India's Nuclear Doctrine 2003). The 2003 review declared that the "no first use policy" and minimum credible deterrence would be maintained and provided "negative security assurances", but it skipped the proclaimed nuclear force triad because India lacks the capacity to develop such a triad. Discussing the Indian nuclear doctrine, Cohen and Dasgupta write: "India's nuclear doctrine, evident in 1990 but declared openly after the 1998 tests, established that India would await a nuclear attack before using its own weapons in a retaliatory blow" (Cohen and Dasgupta 2010). While discussing the constraints to the Indian nuclear doctrine, Mohammad Alam writes:

> When the draft document was released, it included statements within the purview of deterrence by stating that India would not conduct more

> nuclear tests, join the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty with some modifications, enter negotiations to stop fissile materials production without conditions.
>
> (Alam 2002, 3)

According to a report by the Indian Ministry of Information, "India has also announced a policy of non-use against non-nuclear weapon states. Moreover, India also continues to maintain a voluntary, unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing" (India's Ministry of Information 2010, 205). Cohen and Dasgupta write in their book on India, published in 2010, that "India even rejected a first-strike nuclear attack against Pakistan. India's No First Use Policy, in conjunction with the threat of a devastating retaliatory strike, suggests that it would adopt a countercity/countervalue strategy if attacked with nuclear weapons" (Cohen and Dasgupta 2010). Summarizing the gist of Indian nuclear doctrine, Cohen commented:

> The core assumptions of the Indian nuclear doctrine after the 1998 tests extended the Sundarji and Subrahmanyam approach that India should seek primarily to deter Pakistan and develop a missile capacity to balance China while using diplomatic channels for other nuclear issues. In essence, India's nuclear doctrine has been one of minimum deterrence, limited deployment, de-mated warhead and delivery systems, and No First Use. India has not chosen the nuclear war-fighting option with a fully deployed triad.
>
> (Cohen and Dasgupta 2010)

Besides its declared nuclear doctrine, India has also developed some optional doctrines for multiple purposes including a maritime doctrine, limited war options, and, the most dangerous, the "Cold Start doctrine". Discussing the Indian threat perception, Sobea Tabassum quotes the Indian Chief of Army Staff: "[T]here was a possibility of limited war with Pakistan under the nuclear overhang. India was ready to take on both Pakistan and China in a 'two-front war' simultaneously" (Tabassum 2010). The Indian Navy issued a maritime doctrine on April 25, 2004, that focused on projecting India as a regional as well as global power which would be capable of dealing with any extra-regional power in the Indian Ocean (Choudhury 2010). Discussing the objectives of the Indian maritime doctrine, Rahul Roy Choudhury writes:

> Doctrine focuses on developing capabilities to deal with conflict with an extra-regional power and on protecting persons of Indian origin and Indian interests abroad. The Navy's primary mission is to provide conventional and strategic nuclear deterrence against regional states and talks of being able to raise the cost of intervention by extra-regional powers, deterring them from acting against India's security interests.
>
> (Choudhury 2010)

Another military doctrine, termed "Cold Start", was also introduced, in 2004, to conduct surgical strikes against Pakistan, and entails India's offensive intentions to conduct quick operations inside Pakistan's territory with a triad of conventional forces. It is based on the understanding in the Indian military establishment that quick operations against pre-planned targets without crossing Pakistan's nuclear threshold will be successful in achieving targeted objectives. Discussing the "Cold Start" doctrine, Subhash Kapila describes its gist:

> bringing eight integrated Indian battle groups (armored and mobile infantry strike forces) together with elements of the Indian Air Force and Navy as "thrust formations" for "hard strikes" against alleged terrorist infrastructure in Pakistan at levels that the Indian sponsors believed would give Pakistan no justification, in its response, for crossing the nuclear threshold.
>
> (Kapila 2004)

Responding to India's Cold Start strategy, the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee, General Tariq Majeed, said: "General Deepak Kapoor knows very well what the Indian Army cannot and the Pakistan Army can pull off militarily … the Indian Army chief could not be so outlandish in strategic postulations to fix India on a self-destruct mechanism" (ISPR 2010). Analyzing the nuclear danger in South Asia, Zachary Davis writes: "War planners on each side recognize the risks of escalation, but Pakistani military strategists warn that Cold Start would cross their red lines" (Davis 2009). Discussing India's Cold Start doctrine and the likely reaction of Pakistan, George Perkovich writes: "Pakistani military leaders counter that if India begins military hostilities with 'Cold Start,' Pakistan will respond with 'Hot End,' the use of nuclear weapons" (Perkovich 2010, 27)

Pakistan's nuclear doctrine has never been officially declared but this does not denote its absence. It has been Pakistan's policy since the inception of its nuclear program to only partially declare its doctrine. This policy benefits Pakistan in that it can modify its nuclear policy according to the changing circumstances and it keeps rivals in doubt, enabling the security establishment to retain maneuverability against the adversary. India, being the prime enemy, has been the center of Pakistan's security strategy. Pakistan's nuclear policy is also centered on countering Indian aggression. Though Pakistan has not officially declared its nuclear doctrine, its response to the Indian nuclear doctrine provides clues to its own. First and foremost, the claim of "no first use" by India's nuclear doctrine has been rejected by Pakistan as a "face-saving" strategy of the Indian establishment. Discussing nuclear deterrence in South Asia, Zafar Iqbal Cheema writes: "Pakistan's rejection of India's 'no-nuclear-first-use' pledge suggests that nuclear weapons are integral to its defense and deterrent doctrine. Pakistani leaders consider India's 'no first use' offer as declaratory posturing than an actual policy" (Cheema 2004, 11). Pakistan's rejection of India's no first use policy and asymmetries in conventional military capability indicate that Pakistan adopts the "first strike" policy in case of any

adventurism by India. Another major component of Pakistan's nuclear doctrine is the maintenance of a "minimum credible deterrence", which has been claimed by Pakistan's government on several occasions. Pakistan has not yet declared a formal nuclear doctrine. However, statements by eminent persons suggest that the country follows the policy of minimum credible nuclear deterrence. Pakistan's prime minister, Mian Muhammad Nawaz Sharif, said on May 1999 that "[n]uclear restraint, stabilization, and minimum credible deterrence constitute the basic elements of Pakistan's nuclear policy" (Sharif 1999). At the second anniversary of Pakistan's nuclear tests, the president of Pakistan, Pervez Musharraf, addressed the nation on May 28, 2000, and said that:

> Pakistan would maintain a minimum credible nuclear deterrent and work for economic development for country's progress. We refuse to enter a nuclear arms race and instead seek stability in the region. We are committed to a policy of responsibility and restraint by maintaining a credible minimum nuclear deterrent.
>
> (Musharraf 2000)

Since Pakistan has not officially declared its nuclear doctrine, different studies have tried to make estimates of it. Bhumitra Chakma in his study terms it a "proto Pakistani nuclear doctrine" and presents five pillars: "Indo-centric minimum nuclear deterrence, principle of massive retaliation, policy of nuclear first-use, countervalue nuclear targeting, and delegative nuclear command and control structure" (Chakma 2006, 120). Discussing the stability-instability paradox in South Asia, Michael Krepon writes about Pakistan's nuclear policy:

> One might reasonably infer from the statements of senior military figures that they, too, endorse a massive response to Indian strikes against sensitive targets or the crossing of Pakistani red lines. The red lines represent unacceptable thresholds relating to losses of territory, military capability, economic viability, and political stability.
>
> (Krepon 2004)

Another study by Scott D. Sagan in 2008 provides four thresholds, i.e., space, military, economic, and domestic destabilization thresholds, which may invoke nuclear use by Pakistan. These thresholds are derived from an interview with Lieutenant General Khalid Kidwai, director of the Strategic Plan Division (SPD) of Pakistan. Quoting General Kidwai, Sagan writes: "It is well known that Pakistan does not have a 'No First Use Policy'. Nuclear weapons are aimed solely at India. In case deterrence fails, they will be used" (Sagan 2008).

As the head of the SPD (Secretariat of NCA), Khalid Kidwai's opinion is considered the most valid source to understand Pakistan's nuclear policy. During an interview with Italian journalists, Khalid Kidwai described four major situations that may compel Pakistan to opt for a nuclear attack against India. According to Zafar Iqbal Cheema, the Italian report states:

> Pakistan would resort to nuclear weapons' employment in the following eventualities; If
>
> - India attacks Pakistan and conquers a large part of its territory.
> - India destroys a large part of either land or air forces of Pakistan.
> - India proceeds to the economic strangling of Pakistan.
> - India pushes Pakistan into political destabilization or creates a large-scale internal subversion.
>
> (Cheema 2004, 11)

Analyzing Pakistan's nuclear posture, Peter Lavoy also discusses General Khalid Kidwai's interview and comments:

> Kidwai's four existential threats for possible use are credible, but also vague.… If Pakistan had been more explicit about nuclear red lines, this might enable India to adjust the scope of its strategic plans and military operations accordingly. By not specifying the precise Indian actions that would trigger Pakistan's use of nuclear weapons, Pakistani defense planners hope to create uncertainty in the minds of Indian policymakers as to how far they can press Pakistan on the battlefield.
>
> (Lavoy 2007)

However, one can conclude that Pakistan's nuclear weapon capability is solely India-centric and in the face of a weak economy and conventional military disparity, Pakistan has no other option except adopting the defensive-offensive policy based on "first use" in the event of attack by India and maintaining the credible minimum deterrence during peacetime.

Nuclear command and control systems

The catastrophic destroying capability of nuclear weapons and the contemporary strategic environment of world politics demands strict control over the security of nuclear weapons in states that possess them. Therefore, almost every nuclear weapon state has devised a nuclear command and control system (NCCS) that is responsible for control over the development, handling, and employment of nuclear weapons. In order to fulfill these requirements, both India and Pakistan have developed their NCCSs.

Pakistan's NCCS

Pakistan's current NCCS is based on an ordinance passed by General Musharraf in 2007 that established the National Command Authority (NCA) as an institution that deals with matters relating to nuclear capability. Under the ordinance, the NCA consisted of the president as chairman and the prime minister as vice chairman and other members and committees that worked in a hierarchical

order consisting of various committees responsible for various tasks. The SPD is the secretariat of the NCA, where two principal committees, the Employment Control Committee (ECC) and the Development Control Committee (DCC), have been constituted. The operational control of nuclear assets was assigned to the Services Strategic Forces consisting of the Pakistan Army, Pakistan Navy, and Pakistan Air Force, dealing with technical, training, and administrative controls.

The ECC consisted of the foreign minister as deputy chairman, and other members including the minister for defense, minister for interior, minister for finance, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee (JCSC), chief of army staff (COAS), vice chief of army staff (VCOAS), chief of naval staff (CNS), chief of air staff (CAS), and director general of the Strategic Plan Division (DG SPD). However, any other required person could join the committee on invitation. The DCC consisted of the chairman of the JCSC as the deputy chairman of the committee and other members including COAS, VCOAS, CNS, CAS, heads of strategic organizations, and DG SPD (Cheema 2010, 184).

However, the creation of NCA under the 2007 ordinance has since been validated under the National Command Authority Act 2010 with some amendments to the ordinance provisions. The NCA Act of 2010 amended the hierarchical structure based on a committee system. The act constitutes the body of authority consisting of the prime minister as chairman and other members, including the minister for defense, minister of foreign affairs, minister for interior, minister for finance, chairman of the JCSC, COAS, CNS, and CAS, while the DG SPD acts as the secretary of the authority. The SPD is declared as the Secretariat of the Authority where all matters pertaining to the jurisdiction of the authority will be dealt with (Gazette of Pakistan 2010).

The March 2010 law designates all authorities to the NCA where the prime minister will exercise all the authority as chairman on behalf of the NCA in consultation with other members of the authority. Therefore, it can be understood that the final authority regarding the development and employment of nuclear weapons rests under complete civilian control (Gazette of Pakistan 2010)

India's NCCS

India's NCCS is under the control of an NCA that was constituted by the Cabinet Committee on Security on January 4, 2003. The NCA is the apex body that entails all powers relating to the employment of nuclear weapons and consists of a three-tier system that works in a hierarchical order, headed by the prime minister. It consists of a Political Council, Executive Council, and Strategic Forces Command. On the first tier, the Political Council is at the top of the hierarchy and consists of the prime minister as the head of the council and other members including deputy prime minister, minister for defense, minister of foreign affairs, minister for interior, minister for finance, principal secretary to prime minister, and cabinet secretary. On the second tier, the Executive Council

is headed by the prime minister's national security advisor as head while other members include the head of the Indian Atomic Energy Commission, the DRDO, chairman of the JCSC, chief of defense staff (CDS), services chiefs, and strategic force command. On the third and last tier, the operational responsibilities rest with the Tri-Services Strategic Force Command headed by the CDS, who is the operational head of India's nuclear forces (Singh 2010, 35; Salik 2009, 229)

In April 2017, India unveiled a new military doctrine titled the Indian Armed Forces Joint Doctrine (IAFJD), entailing Indian military strategy covering a wider spectrum that includes external threats to internal threats, implying the use of both conventional warfare and nuclear strategy. As reported in a Brookings report "Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee, Admiral Sunil Lanba, wrote [in the Foreword] that the Joint Doctrine provides foundations for greater integration and interdependence, to achieve higher inter-operability and compatibility within the Armed Forces" (Mukherjee 2017). The alarming part of this doctrine is related to a paradigm shift. This document has replaced the Indian policy of "credible minimum deterrence" with "credible deterrence", indicating Indian intentions to accelerate its nuclear weapon program. Commenting on this shift, the former ambassador of Pakistan to India said:

> India has evolved and moved from "credible minimum deterrence" to "credible deterrence", which means in practice that they do not believe in keeping their "Triad" to the minimum deterrence … Indians would develop their armed forces horizontally as well as vertically.… So, there is no restriction on the development of their nuclear assets.
>
> (IPRI 2018)

Although the Indian government has not issued a special modification in its nuclear doctrine but is using the IAFJD document, it showed its nuclear policy in between the lines (*Economic Times* 2018).

The preceding discussion makes it clear that Pakistan's security calculus is based on the perception of threat from India because of India's assertiveness and hegemonic designs in the region. The analysis of the conventional military capabilities and nuclear forces of the two states also provides an insight into the importance of the nuclear factor in the mutual relationship and reflects the conventional military asymmetries as well as the arms competition between the two nuclear-armed states in South Asia. India has far better capabilities than Pakistan in conventional warfare weaponry and military force. Keeping in view the increasing conventional military asymmetries, Pakistan has adapted to develop its missile delivery systems and its dependence on the "nuclear use option" has been increased. After taking an overview of the nuclear doctrines of both countries, it is evident that the increasing asymmetries would result in increasing dependence on nuclear weapons. In the wake of the already prevailing asymmetry, the US's strategic partnership with India would increase opportunities for India to gain more sophisticated weaponry, consequently

widening the gap in the war-fighting capabilities of the two states and, therefore, would lessen Pakistan's conventional military capabilities to counter Indian aggression. Hence, Michael Krepon's assertion provides food for thought regarding the effect of increasing conventional military asymmetries on strategic stability in the region:

> In South Asia, the conventional military balance is shifting steadily in India's favor. This disparity could enable the Indian military to employ new military tactics in future conflicts with Pakistan. The growing conventional capabilities in India could increase nuclear risks.
>
> (Krepon 2004)

9 Pakistan's security concerns

In the modern state system, state security has become a complex phenomenon. Each state in the international sphere has its own specific security delineation according to its strategic interests. Therefore, there is no specific concept of security which covers a definition of security acceptable to all states in the world in general. However, there are some general elements which are usually found in the security policy of almost all the countries in the world: identifying and preserving core values, internal security, preservation of the ideology of the state, security from external intervention and threats, economic security, political independence, border security, avoiding disintegration, security from state and non-state terrorism, maintaining a favorable regional and international environment., etc. Among all the above elements of security, different states may have different priorities; for example, one of the US's priorities seems to be avoiding terrorism; China's priority can be economic development and avoiding hegemony; India's can be developing a great-power status; etc. These elements subsequently drive the foreign and security policies that exhibit states' behavior in interaction with other states in the world.

Being the second-largest populous country in the word with a huge military build-up, India desires to achieve a great-power status in the world. In its pursuit of the status of a world power, India has built up a strategic partnership with the US that is ever-growing and it has been utilizing this newfound partnership in shopping for the latest nuclear and missile technologies, sophisticated weapons, fighting aircrafts, ships, submarines, radars, and other surveillance equipment. As discussed in the chapter on the Pakistan–India strategic balance, India has an almost three-times larger military force in comparison with Pakistan. India's acquisition of advanced technology in the nuclear as well as military realm, through the India–US Strategic Partnership, poses a great threat to Pakistan's security. On March 20, 2006, Pakistan's Foreign Office spokesperson said: "We believe that this deal is not helpful to the stability in South Asia and to the international non-proliferation efforts" (Press Conference by the Foreign Office Spokesperson 2006). Commenting on the India–US nuclear deal, the spokesperson said on July 23, 2007, "[W]e share the concerns of security analysts that the

agreement would help bolster India's nuclear weapons capability" (Press Briefing 2007).

The National Command Authority (NCA), the apex body of the nuclear command and control system in Pakistan, noticed the nuclear and defense cooperation between India and the US and showed its concerns by stating that the "US–India Civil Nuclear Energy Deal, which would enable India to produce significant quantities of fissile material and nuclear weapons from un-safeguarded nuclear reactors, may ignite an arms race and have implications on strategic stability in South Asia" (IPCS News Archives 2007). Once again the NCA noted in its sixteenth meeting, held on January 13, 2010, that:

> India continues to pursue an ambitious militarization programme … Massive inductions of advanced weapon systems, including installation of ABMs [anti-ballistic missiles], the build-up of nuclear arsenal and delivery systems through ongoing and new programmes, assisted by some external quarters … and similar accumulations in the conventional realm, tend to destabilize the regional balance … Pakistan cannot be oblivious to these developments.
>
> (ISPR 2010b)

Expressing Pakistan's reservations about the discriminatory treatment policies of strategic export-control regimes, the NCA, in its meeting on December 14, 2010, said:

> Such policies, detrimental as they are to international peace and security, undermine the credibility of the existing non-proliferation regime and are inconsistent with the national laws and international obligations. Revisionism based on strategic, political or commercial considerations accentuates asymmetries and would perpetuate instability, especially in South Asia … peace and security are indivisible and … the goals of non-proliferation could only be advanced by ensuring equal and undiminished security for all states. Regional balance and strategic stability in South Asia are indispensable for peace, sustained development and prosperity for the region and beyond.
>
> (NCA Meeting 2010)

The NCA had noted in an earlier meeting in January 2010 that:

> the India-specific exemption made by the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and subsequent nuclear fuel supply agreements with several countries, would enable India to produce substantial quantities of fissile material for nuclear weapons by freeing up its domestic resources.
>
> (ISPR 2010b)

The NCA reiterated its criticism regarding discriminatory behavior by international non-proliferation regimes in its meeting on July 14, 2011, and

cautioned that "such policies represent a regression in the non-proliferation regime and tend to erode the strategic balance in South Asia" (NCA Meeting 2011). Highlighting the regional implications of the nuclear deal, Adil Sultan Muhammad writes:

> The Indo-US civil nuclear cooperation agreement if implemented without checking India's potential to increase its fissile stocks and eliminating any possibility by India of improving its nuclear weapons could lead to arms competition in the region involving Pakistan, India, and China, thus destabilizing the entire region.
>
> (Muhammad 2006, 12)

Keeping in view the legacy of the rivalry between Pakistan and India, the US's pledge to cooperate with India in high-tech fields raises huge concerns for Pakistan's security. The convergence of the US's interests with India's generates greater security threats for Pakistan than ever before. Pakistan did join the US bloc during the Cold War between the US and the USSR to offset Indian predominance in military capabilities, maintaining the balance of power against India. Pakistan was the major recipient of US military aid as an ally during the Cold War. Therefore, most parts of Pakistan's security structure remained based on US military equipment. Apart from military equipment, Pakistan's alliance with the US was a major source of strengthening Pakistan's economy as well as in developing cooperation with other Western countries. Pakistan relied on US-provided military hardware in any event of a conflict with India both before the after the nuclearization. Although the US economic and military assistance to Pakistan was for the exclusive purpose of the anti-Communist campaign, it helped Pakistan modernize its armed forces against India. The US's role in dealing with India has been pivotal in Pakistan's defense arrangements. In this scenario, the US's tilt toward India has caused concerns in Pakistan's security establishment. Quoting Rasul Bakhsh Rais, a study by the author noted that:

> Pakistan's security policy has been dependent on two major approaches; alliances with major world powers and nuclear deterrence to offset India's conventional superiority, but now both of these approaches are tilting toward India because of transformed cordial relations between the United States and India.
>
> (Bukhari 2011)

The history of Pakistan–India rivalry, the conventional military asymmetries, and the analysis of India–US Strategic Partnership in the preceding chapters provide an insight into the complexity of the subject and its relevance to Pakistan's security spectrum. The developing India–US Strategic Partnership has a wide range of areas for cooperation between the two states, which have multiple implications at many levels, ranging from the sub-regional to the global level. However, this study has concentrated only on Pakistan-specific concerns.

The study suggests that the strategic cooperation between India and the US poses great challenges to Pakistan's security in various ways. It will not only tilt the balance of power between Pakistan and India in the latter's favor in terms of nuclear capability, but it will also have other implications that will ultimately infringe upon Pakistan's security. Therefore, the partnership emerges as a threat to Pakistan's security. In this context, the study identifies some major developments of the India–US cooperation that will have perilous consequences for the security of Pakistan. Besides these major security concerns, some supplementary issues have also been raised regarding international political developments that could emerge in the wake of this cooperation and may affect Pakistan's strategic interests. The identified concerns are discussed below.

Paradigm shift in India's strategic thinking

The India–US Strategic Partnership, entailing extraordinary defense cooperation between the two countries, has contributed a paradigm shift in Indian strategic thinking, where Indian strategic decision-makers are becoming more offensive toward Pakistan than ever before. Although, Indian strategists have a long-lasting desire to dominate Pakistan, this would not have been possible without obtaining high-tech defense technology, equipment, and the political support of world powers. As cited in the chapter on Pakistan–India rivalry, the countries went to war in 1948, 1965, and 1971, and various crises situations have also arisen including the Brasstacks crisis off 1986, the Kashmir crisis of 1990, the Kargil crisis of 1999, the military standoff of 2001–2002, the Mumbai attacks of 2008, Pathankot 2016, the Uri crisis of 2016, and the Pulwama crisis of 2019. It is evident that the US's role in escalation control between the two countries has changed markedly in the crises that occurred after the conclusion of India–US Strategic Partnership 2006. Four crisis situations emerged after 2006 and in each situation the US took India's perspective while Pakistan's perspective was ignored. The US even did not condemn Indian violations of the line of control or acts of so-called "surgical strikes". The absence of the US's condemnation of India's claim of surgical strikes in 2016, although considered false, contributed to encouraging India to adopt an offensive strategy against Pakistan. Moreover, the US's silence over the most recent act of Indian aggression on Pakistan in the Pulwama incident has indicated a "tacit approval" by the US favoring Indian aggression.

If Indian acts of aggression go unchecked, this will contribute to worsening the strategic stability in the region. Although officially rejected several times by the Indian security establishment, the "Cold Start doctrine" proved to be true if examined in the light of recent acts of aggression by India against Pakistan. It is pertinent to note that the rejection of Cold Start doctrine policy by the Indian security establishment was adopted due to the lack of the Indian military's ability to practically implement such doctrines. In the wake of unchecked US support, India has now not only openly acknowledged the Cold Start doctrine but has also tried to practice it after the Pulwama incident by attacking Pakistan

on February 26, 2019. It was in the interest of Pakistan to exercise the right of reprisal but it was also a question of regional strategic stability; therefore, Pakistan responded to the Indian act of aggression on February 27, 2019, and captured an Indian fighter pilot after shooting down an Indian Mig-21 fighter jet that had crossed the line of control and entered Pakistan.

Although Pakistan was able to respond to the Indian act of aggression in 2019, enabling it to keep the deterrence intact, it will be difficult in future with the implementation of defense cooperation agreements between India and US like the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement (LEMOA), Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement (COMCASA), and Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement (BECA). Indian military's capacity to conduct warfare operations will be revolutionizes by the mutual exchange of logistics support between India and the US under LEMOA, the securely encrypted communication exchange between weapon platforms under COMCASA, and intelligence sharing through space-based platforms. Despite the nuclearization of South Asia and the acquisition of various sophisticated delivery systems including fighter jets and advanced missiles by both Pakistan and India, the probability of an all-out war is being deterred at the moment, but conventional war under the nuclear overhang could materialize due to India's false sense of superiority over Pakistan. In July 2018, the Indian military announced its Joint Operational Doctrine (JOD) for the Army, Navy, and Air Force. According to a report in *The Economic Times*, JOD aims at establishing "deeper operational synergies among the army, navy and air force … with an aim to coherently deal with all possible security threats facing India including conventional and proxy wars [indicating] that 'surgical strikes' could be a key feature" (*Economic Times* 2018). India's urge to dominate Pakistan coupled with its military's defense modernization through the India–US defense cooperation, especially under LEMOA, COMCASA, and BECA, will contribute to enhancing the Indian conviction over doctrines like Cold Start, which will ultimately compel Pakistan to reduce the nuclear threshold, consequently endangering regional strategic stability. Therefore, it can be foreseen that India–US defense cooperation, providing advanced weapon systems and access to sophisticated military platforms to the Indian military, will bring a paradigm shift in Indian strategic thinking, entailing offensive actions by India against Pakistan, which will subsequently bring catastrophic outcomes for the region.

Induction of advanced weapon systems

India–US defense cooperation under the strategic partnership is providing India with its utmost support to advance its weapon systems, which will contribute to eroding the strategic equilibrium, destabilizing nuclear deterrence, and triggering an arms race in the region. The strategic partnership agreement not only assists India in nuclear technology but also offers sophisticated conventional arms sales to India that include supersonic fighter jets, highly sophisticated missiles, and other major military equipment as discussed in the chapter on India–US defense

cooperation. As cited in that chapter, US arms sales to India are likely to widen the prevailing conventional military asymmetry between India and Pakistan. India had become the second-largest importer of arms in the world by 2019 and the US has emerged as the major arms supplier to India with defense sales of more than US$15 billion in the last decade. It is looking at India's ambitious military modernization venture and offering state-of-the-art military equipment and technology transfer in order to get the maximum share in arms sales to India.

Discussing the implications of the India–US strategic relationship on Pakistan's security, Zafar Nawaz Jaspal writes:

> The Indo-US strategic relationship, despite the strategic partnership between Pakistan and the United States, could increase the asymmetry in the balance of power between India and Pakistan, which might lower the nuclear threshold between the belligerent neighbors.
>
> (Jaspal 2007, 4, 10)

Indicating the dangers posed by the increasing conventional asymmetry in the region and the introduction of sophisticated technologies like ballistic missile defense, Zafar Iqbal Cheema highlights the dangers of nuclear escalation by stating: "[T]he conventional asymmetry and nuclear threshold of Pakistan are inversely proportional: the higher the asymmetry, the lower the threshold, the lower the asymmetry, the higher the threshold" (Cheema 2010). Answering a question about the impact of the increasing conventional military asymmetry in lowering Pakistan's nuclear threshold, General (retd) Asad Durrani told the author, the "more the asymmetry, lower the nuclear threshold, in principle, therefore, the answer is YES" (Durrani 2011). Responding to a question about the India–Pakistan balance of power and the dangers of nuclear escalation, Onkar Marwah told the author:

> If this is to be seen as a South Asian "Balance of Power"—it exists in a wild, wary and watchful manner; it is more actually a "Balance of Terror" than a Balance of Power, given that the onset of a "war" could turn nuclear and engulf both sides within a few minutes in the short distances to be covered by the un-recallable missiles possessed by both states.
>
> (Marwah 2011)

In this context, the value of nuclear deterrence will be reduced in the region due to the induction of advanced weapon systems in the Indian weapons inventory with sophisticated missiles and missile defense systems. Describing an alarming implication of the India–US deal, a special report by the US Council on Foreign Relations highlights that India has not accepted any legal obligation against nuclear testing, therefore:

> [N]uclear testing by India might enable it to wield nuclear weapons with much larger explosive power than those currently in the Indian arsenal that

> in turn would allow important changes in Indian nuclear strategy. It might let India target Chinese or Pakistani nuclear sites that were previously safe, driving Beijing or Islamabad to develop new weapons themselves or to change their currently restrained strategies for using nuclear arms.
>
> (Levi and Ferguson 2006, 28)

In this scenario, Pakistan's credible minimum deterrence policy will need to be reviewed in the wake of evolving high-tech warfare structures including India's nuclear weapon and delivery system development capacity. Jaspal writes, "Indo-US strategic relations could tilt the balance of power between India and Pakistan, leaving the latter with no option but to increase its defense spending immediately" (Jaspal 2007). Carranza writes "the US–India nuclear deal—if implemented—will exacerbate the Indo-Pakistani nuclear and missile race" (Carranza 2009, 2). In order to curtail Indian advancements and to maintain the credible minimum deterrence, Pakistan will have to increase its defense budget, which is already too burdensome due to heavy spending on the war against terrorism. The immensity of the US's assistance to India in technological development will compel Pakistan to seek such a deal with other countries, which may trigger an arms race between the two rivals, subsequently rejuvenating instability in the region. Therefore, the overwhelming US support to India in defense development and procurement is increasing Pakistan's apprehension regarding its national security.

Enhancement of India's nuclear arsenal

The strategic partnership will enable India to enhance its nuclear arsenal through the transfer of dual-use technology, a vague separation plan, the inadequacy of the International Atomic Energy Agency's (IAEA) jurisdiction, and freeing up domestic uranium for military purposes, as discussed in the chapter on nuclear non-proliferation. The nuclear cooperation agreement is considered the "diamond" of the strategic partnership between the two countries. Discarding all previous efforts toward non-proliferation, the US pledged to provide full civilian nuclear cooperation to India along with commitments on the transfer of technology. As discussed earlier, the US nuclear cooperation agreement with India has a lot of loopholes; it is observed that the cooperation will enable India to enhance the quality and quantity of its nuclear arsenal. Discussing the role of the strategic partnership in India's nuclear weapon development program, Lora Saalman told to the author:

> Complete firewalling of strategic programs is difficult, if not impossible, to achieve … [This is] also the case in the nuclear realm, particularly when certain systems and capabilities are left outside of the safeguarded civilian realm, like Fast Breeder Reactors. There are also indirect means through which civilian-related shifts can potentially benefit the military. One frequently cited example regarding India and nuclear-related assistance is

> that of its reinvigorated ability to import uranium for its civil program meaning that it will be able to dedicate its domestic uranium supplies to its military program. India will not be forced to make a choice anymore between fueling its civil program and its military program.
>
> (Saalman 2011)

According to a Congressional research report:

> [B]oth the agreement and associated 2008 decision by NSG [Nuclear Suppliers Group] to exempt India from some of its export guidelines will renew New Delhi's access to the international uranium market. This access will result in more indigenous Indian uranium available for weapons because it will not be consumed by India's newly safeguarded reactors.
>
> (Nikitin 2010, 5)

According to a report by the Council on Foreign Relations, Henry Sokolski criticized the deal, fearing that it would enable India to enhance the quantity of its nuclear arsenal. Quoted by Bajoria and Pan, Sokolski said:

> We are going to be sending, or allowing others to send, fresh fuel to India—including yellowcake and lightly enriched uranium—that will free up Indian domestic sources of fuel to be solely dedicated to making many more bombs than they would otherwise have been able to make.
>
> (Bajoria and Pan 2010)

Keeping in view the history of India's lack of honesty about the diversion of civilian technology toward weapon purposes, it is a well-known fact that the NSG was created in response to Indian misuse of civilian nuclear technology for conducting the 1974 nuclear tests. A report by the Council on Foreign Relations states:

> India could use the imported nuclear fuel to feed its civilian energy program while diverting its own nuclear fuel to weapons production … New Delhi has done similar things in the past, India claimed it was using nuclear technology for civilian purposes right up until its first nuclear weapons test in 1974.
>
> (Bajoria and Pan 2010)

The India–US agreement to cooperate in various areas of high technology has raised serious concerns for Pakistan because most of the technology has dual-use features. Apparently, both India and the US claim to cooperate only in the civilian realm, but the cooperation in dual-use advanced technologies has the potential to contribute to India's defense capabilities. The US has asked India to take appropriate measures for assuring the non-diversion of technologies

provided for civil purposes to military purposes. US cooperation with India on dual-use technologies was bound to fulfill various licensing requirements and other conditions. However, according to a report by the Center for A New American Security:

> Since the lifting of sanctions on India in 2001 and the creation in 2002 of the U.S.–India High Technology Cooperation Group (HTCG) … the number of dual–use exports to India requiring licenses has dropped significantly … only a fraction of dual-use trade with India now requires a license, and the U.S. licensing process for dual–use technology to India has improved significantly in recent years.
>
> (Juster and Kuntamukkala 2010, 7)

Although the US is trying to ensure the non-diversion of dual-use technologies through various agreements with India, including the End-Use Monitoring Agreement, validated end-user programs, a Technical Assistance Agreement, and Manufacturing Licensing Agreement, most of them have still materialized due to Indian concerns over the issues of sovereignty and independence (Juster and Kuntamukkala 2010, 7). There is no guarantee about the non-diversion of nuclear technology toward military purposes through newly trained personnel equipped with advanced US nuclear technology.

India has been granted unlimited freedom regarding the qualitative and quantitative development of its nuclear arsenal. Shaista Tabassum highlighted that "the accord only talks on the subject of the civilian nuclear services while the quantity and capability of weapon programs, which is unlimited, is not discussed and the agreement does not take measures to limit the fissile material production" (Tabassum 2008). The vagueness of the separation plan and freedom of choice in categorizing nuclear reactors as civilian or non-civilian provides India with the opportunity to misuse civil nuclear technology for military purposes. Ishaque Fani points out:

> The differentiation among reactors geared to armed requirements and those destined for civilian purposes are very skinny. Any Indian administration can reroute products of civilian amenities to armed ones if and at what time it decides to carry out accordingly.
>
> (Fani 2009)

David Albright in an October 26, 2005, testimony before the US House Committee described this fact: "India's extensive military and civil nuclear programs are often connected, sharing personnel and infrastructure. In addition, some facilities currently have both a military and civilian purpose" (Albright 2005). Zafar Iqbal Cheema writes:

> It is an indisputable fact that the Indo-US nuclear deal would allow India to divert uranium from peaceful uses to weapon purposes.… [The] US nuclear

> deal which will certainly allow India to expand its nuclear arsenal is certainly detrimental to Pakistani national security.
>
> (Cheema 2010)

Discussing the Indo-Pakistani nuclear relations in *South Asian Security and International Nuclear Order*, Mario Esteban Carranza writes "the US–India nuclear deal—if implemented—will exacerbate the Indo-Pakistani nuclear and missile race" (Carranza 2009, 2).

Analyzing the role of the India–US nuclear deal in contributing to India's economic and energy needs, John Stephenson and Peter Tynan write:

> [T]he economic and resource arguments for U.S.-India civilian nuclear cooperation are overstated; Nuclear energy will not reduce India's reliance on foreign fossil fuels significantly, is not vital to sustaining India's economic growth through 2032, and does not necessarily provide the best option for environmental improvements and energy independence.
>
> (Tynan 2007, 57)

Momin Iftikhar writes:

> India utilizes 11% of various available energy sources including oil, gas, coal, wind and nuclear power for producing electricity. Out of this only 2–3% is produced through nuclear power. The civil nuclear cooperation agreement, once materialized in its true essence by 2025 could increase this production to a maximum of 6.5–8% only … it is not clear how this increase of 4.5–6% in nuclear electricity could make any substantial difference in global climatic conditions or in the Indian economy. Therefore, it is more likely that India will continue to divert nuclear expertise and materials, provided for producing "cheap, efficient and clean" energy, towards accelerating her ambitious nuclear weapons' program.
>
> (Iftikhar 2006)

Although the US has attached the condition to nuclear technology transfer of no more nuclear tests, in the event of this condition being breached, the US may cancel the agreement, but no measures have been taken in this regard in India's agreements with other NSG countries. Even safeguards by the IAEA cannot stop the diversion of technology provided for civil purposes toward weapon development because of the ambiguously declared separation plan. India has kept out of the reach of the IAEA significant nuclear installations that would allow it to continue its strategic weapon programs along with civilian nuclear technology from outside. In this context, it is clear that the nuclear cooperation agreement between India and the US will provide an opportunity to India to improve the quality and quantity of its nuclear arsenal through the transfer of nuclear technology.

Space cooperation: conducive to missile and surveillance capabilities

Space cooperation will be conducive to India's surveillance, reconnaissance, and missile development capability. Space cooperation under the strategic partnership has two major implications for Pakistan's security. First, it will contribute to the Indian missile development program through polar space launch vehicles and other space-rocket technology. Richard Speier noted, with a reference to the US intelligence estimate in 2001, that "India could convert its polar space launch vehicles into an ICBM [intercontinental ballistic missile] within a year or two of the decision to do so" (Speier 2007, 195). Discussing the prospects of India–US defense trade, a report by the Center for New American Security points out the role of the Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO) in Indian missile development program: "With regard to the ISRO subsidiaries, the view of the US government is that certain technology related to space launch vehicles is also relevant to India's ballistic missile activities, which the United States does not support" (Juster and Kuntamukkala 2010, 7). Discussing the impact of India–US space cooperation, Speier's analysis suggests that Indian missile development can be assisted in achieving accuracy, enhancing payload capacity, enabling multiple warheads, and assuring reliability (Speier 2006). Zafar Nawaz Jaspal writes, "Cooperation between India and the United States, especially in the nuclear and space arenas, might increase the asymmetry in the conventional and non-conventional balance of power between India and Pakistan" (Jaspal 2007). Second, space cooperation will not only be helpful to the Indian missile development program but it will also contribute to enhancing the surveillance and reconnaissance capabilities of the Indian military through satellite development programs. Answering a question by the author, Saalman highlighted the dual-purpose functions of space cooperation by stating that "aerospace technology can be used in a peaceful space program, but many satellites have applications in both agricultural survey and reconnaissance. Remote sensing is a sensitive technology in this regard" (Saalman 2011).

Although the launch of satellites is claimed to be for civilian purposes, the satellites can perform a dual-purpose function. India can use the satellite images for military intelligence purposes, which will enable the Indian military to detect the troop deployment of Pakistani forces as well as the exact location of targets within Pakistan. However, Sumit Ganguly told the author: "Despite the emergence of [a] 'strategic partnership' important differences remain about India's pursuit of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles. I doubt that the US will prove especially helpful or forthcoming in either arena" (Ganguly 2012). It is pertinent to note that India–US space cooperation for civilian purposes was part of the India–US Strategic Partnership announced initially, but space-security cooperation was included. The pledge for cooperation in space security was made during Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to the US in 2014. Both countries agreed "to start a new dialogue on maintaining long-term security and sustainability of the outer space environment, including space situational

awareness and collision avoidance in outer space" (White House 2014). Three more meetings were held, in 2015, 2016, and 2019. The most recent meeting for discussion on space security was held on March 13, 2019, a few days before India's anti-satellite test on March 27, 2019 (Rose 2019).

The inclusion of space security in bilateral space cooperation helped India to get the US nod for its ambitious space weaponization program. This also indicates Indian intentions to take the arms race into outer space. Although Pakistan has not any intention to be involved in such an arms race with India at the moment, the changing dynamics of warfare in the modern era and the overwhelming Indian dominance will compel Pakistan to be part of such a race. The India–US defense cooperation in space security coupled with agreements like BECA, enabling India to share sensitive geospatial intelligence gathered from satellites and other space-based platforms, will prove to be perilous for Pakistani military movements and freedom of action, which will consequently weaken Pakistan's conventional military capacity to counter Indian aggression. It will not only limit Pakistani military movements but will also give Indian armed forces the freedom to choose and hit the targets of their own choice of place and time.

The emergence of India as regional hegemon

India's hegemonic designs in South Asia are likely to be fulfilled due to its strategic relationship with the US, which will have significant negative implications for smaller states in the region, and Pakistan will be the foremost target in this regard. Addressing the major foreign policy goals of India, Teresita C. Schaffer notes: "India is determined to be secure in its region and wants to remain the primary arbiter of South Asian Security … The United States is currently seen as potential support in this regard except for differences over Pakistan" (Schaffer 2009). The strategic partnership with the US provides India with an opportunity to use its increased leverage with the US, and manipulate US influence on Pakistan in its favor regarding multiple outstanding disputes between India and Pakistan. An analysis by Fareed Zakariya suggests:

> India needs America … because India's immediate security is entirely dependent on maintaining a stable relationship with Pakistan.… The Pakistan-Indian relationship is just so fraught. America is a very useful interlocutor … India could gain a very powerful ally in America who also has enormous influence over Pakistan.
>
> (Zakaria 2011)

Responding a question about the impact of US support of India, Durrani states: "India's relationship with the US does enhance its power differential with Pakistan" (Durrani 2011).

India has always tried to manipulate US differences with Pakistan in its favor and symbolizes itself as a victim of terrorism by Pakistan. This is evident by

Indian behavior after the Abbottabad Operation, which provided India with an opportunity to criticize Pakistan heavily and grind its own ax. The Indian army chief went to the extent of threatening Pakistan by threatening to carry out surgical strikes of the same nature as the Abbottabad operation. General Singh said "the Indian armed forces were capable of carrying out surgical operations against terrorists similar to the one conducted by the US in Pakistan … All the three wings (army, navy and air force) are capable of carrying out such operations when needed" (India's Army Chief 2011). However, the threats by India's army chief at that time were rebuffed by the strong retaliation by the Pakistan Army in a core commanders' meeting that riled India by stating:

> The forum, taking serious note of the assertions made by Indian military leadership about conducting similar operations, made it very clear that any misadventure of this kind will be responded to very strongly. There should be no doubt about it.
>
> (Zee News 2011a)

Salman Basheer, the foreign secretary of Pakistan conveyed the message to India without naming it:

> [A]ny country that again seeks to raid its territory would face consequences … we feel that that sort of misadventure or miscalculation would result in a terrible catastrophe … there should be no doubt Pakistan has adequate capacity to ensure its own defense.
>
> (Zee News 2011a)

But, Indian ambitions to dominate Pakistan led it toward misadventure in February 2019 and a severe situation of crisis emerged in the aftermath of the Pulwama attacks. The US's silence over the Indian offensive against Pakistan has been noticed in Pakistan, and is stimulating the conviction that India would not have dared to attack Pakistan if there were no support from the US. The absence of condemnation by the US of Indian attacks on Pakistan further strengthens such propositions.

The increasing India–US convergence through the strategic partnership has resulted in the decreasing stature of Pakistan in US foreign policy preferences. Pakistan has now become only a tactical partner of the US while India has emerged as a strategic partner. Though the US has never helped Pakistan in any crisis with India, it did not favor India until Kargil, which was the first episode when the US supported the Indian cause against Pakistan. Jaspal writes, "Indo-US strategic cooperation hinders Washington's ability to resolve a conflict between New Delhi and Islamabad" (Jaspal 2007). Discussing the Indian doctrine of Cold Start, an offensive Indian policy against Pakistan, George Perkovich writes:

> It is assumed that the United States would intervene diplomatically to contain hostilities as it has before, but this time India would enjoy a favorable

> situation on the ground and a good overall balance of power, which it would use to leverage negotiations to its benefit.
>
> (Perkovich 2010, 27)

The US in its collaboration with India had gone to the extent of pressing Pakistan to waive India as its prime enemy. The US tried to dictate to Pakistan that it should redefine its national security policy to exclude India as a major threat to its security and survival. US President Barack Obama said during his visit to Great Britain on May 23, 2011, that "Pakistan's obsession with India that makes it look at its neighbor as an 'existential threat' is a mistake" (Pak's India Obsession a Mistake, Says Obama 2011). Obama said in an interview with the BBC that "the US wants Pakistan to realize that the biggest threat to it does not come from outside but is homegrown" (Pak's India Obsession a Mistake, Says Obama 2011).

Apart from such efforts, the US vowed to support the Indian bid for permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), which is seen as detrimental for Pakistan's national security interests. US endorsement for India to have a permanent seat in the UNSC has serious implications for Pakistan's interests on a number of outstanding conflicts with India. After gaining a permanent seat in the UNSC, India will be in a position to exploit Pakistan's interests through the power to veto. Currently, the UNSC's resolutions are the only amicable source for settlement of the Kashmir dispute between Pakistan and India, which is seen as the possible ray of hope in Pakistani policy circles. Enabling India to exploit the interests of nuclear Pakistan through veto power will be a suicidal act for international peace. Such a scenario may compel Pakistan to seek new strategic alignments that may harness Pakistan's security imperatives. Adil Sultan Muhammad argues:

> The deal could force major stakeholders to re-evaluate their security interests in the face of emerging Indo-US strategic partnership thus triggering a transformation of regional alliance structures, where India is seen decisively shifting towards the United States, and Pakistan being compelled to explore options that could best serve its security interests independent of the United States.
>
> (Muhammad 2006, 12)

Pakistan's search for new strategic alignments could create a situation that may induce cold war patterns in the region with the same objectives of containment through alliances and counter-alliances. However, the actors and their roles will be different from those of the Cold War in the twentieth century.

The Pakistan–China collaboration has been enhanced on an urgent basis since 2011, starting with the emergency provision of 50 JF-17 fighter jets to Pakistan and Pakistan's request to China for shared control of Gawadar port to counter prospective Indian hegemony in the Indian Ocean through the creation of a blue water navy, indicating new geostrategic arrangements in the region. Another

alarming act by the US was the offer to give India a role in Afghanistan, which would be perilous for the security of Pakistan because of the Indian presence on its western borders. According to Ashley Tellis, "For the US, to have India as a partner in two very sensitive regions [Afghanistan and Africa] sends a signal to important countries like Pakistan and China" (Tellis 2010). The US's effort to bring India into Afghanistan shows Americans' mistrust of Pakistan rather than a desire for a burden-sharing policy. Discussing the India–US strategic engagement, Paul Kapur writes, "[India wants] a friendly Afghanistan that provides a hedge against Pakistan" (Kapur 2010, 26). Bringing India into Afghanistan not only shows India's negative intentions but it also indicates the US's intent to use India against Pakistan in the event that Pakistan does not act in accordance with US interests. It is foreseeable that the US will want to engage Pakistan through an Indian presence at both the eastern and western borders of Pakistan.

The US can use India as a threat to Pakistan in order to achieve its own interests. Responding to a question about "Indian threat to Pakistan at the US's disposal", General (retd) Durrani said: "Yes, the Indian card can be used to 'threaten' Pakistan, but only if India too was willing—not very likely" (Durrani 2011). Summit Ganguly responded by stating: "I simply do not see this happening either now or even in the distant future" (Ganguly 2012). Discussing the reasons for Pakistan–US tension, Riaz Khokhar, the former foreign secretary of Pakistan, said in a television show: "Indo-US relations are among the reasons" (Khokhar 2011). On the Indian influence on other countries to halt defense trade with Pakistan, General Durrani said:

> It does at times happen; as was the case when the Soviet Union and later its successor state Russia, because of Indian sensitivities, would not sell some weapon systems to Pakistan. Presently too, the US was not likely to deliver systems which were seen as India specific.
>
> (Durrani 2011)

Marwah is of the view:

> The other countries—France, Britain, and other European states would follow the US where it suits them—and do their calculations for independent supply to Pakistan, where necessary, for their own economic benefit. As in the past, they would not defer to Indian objections.
>
> (Marwah 2011)

India can influence the international community in several matters against Pakistan's interests by conditioning the relationship with India. The emerging tilt of the US and its allies toward India may isolate Pakistan on several issues of national interest in the world.

10 Conclusion

The analyses given forcefully reiterate the fact that there are neither permanent friends nor permanent enemies in inter-state relations. States can transform their policies in the pursuit of their perceived national interest without taking into account any moral or even legal obligations. The dramatic shift in the bilateral relationship between India and the US occurred in the post–Cold War era because of such a transformation in the international political landscape. In this context, the India–US Strategic Partnership manifests the policies of the US based on discrimination, exceptionalism, and selectivity. The outcome of these policies validates the assertion that the very concept of power equilibrium in South Asia is going to favor India, which will subsequently deteriorate the deterrence stability in the region. The events and developments in the region substantiate the argument, for instance, adventurous Indian surgical strikes, the Cold Start doctrine, pursuance of ballistic missile defense systems, conventional arms build-up, enhancement of fissile material stocks, the discriminatory Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) waiver, country-specific International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards, the subsequent India–US 123 nuclear deal, the unprecedented India-specific defense cooperation agreements, India's proactive role in Afghanistan, and the US's commitment to help India gain a permanent seat on the UN Security Council and other export control regimes.

This study has strived to establish that the nature of India–US relations has entirely changed in the post–Cold War era from that of Cold War period. The formation of India–US relations during the Cold War was one of the significant reasons for the cool relations between the two states. The US's Cold War priorities and India's tilt toward the USSR were the reasons that kept the two largest democracies in the world estranged from each other. With the end of the Cold War, the reasons for estrangement vanished and, in a very short time, the bilateral relations between the two countries strengthened to the extent of concluding a strategic partnership that covers a lot of areas of mutual interests. The dynamics of international politics in the post–Cold War era paved the way for the development of cordial relations between the two countries. The beginning of the twenty-first century with the horrible act of terrorism on 9/11 brought a paradigm shift in US foreign policy, where India stood shoulder-to-shoulder with the US. India expressed its pledge to fight against terrorism and offered its

utmost support to the US in its endeavor against terrorism. On the other side, the US administration also viewed India as the nation that could best serve US interests. Many observers and analysts in the US began to promote thinking about India as a counterweight against a rising China. Therefore, the US vowed to assist India in becoming a major power in the world. The strategic partnership between the two countries is the actual manifestation of such promises by the US.

The analysis of current trends in international politics suggests that the India–US collaboration will improve day by day because of India's realistic assessment in the US's strategic calculations, ranging from regional influence to global politics. India also gives support to the declining US economy through defense purchases from US industries. The growing Indian economy, huge military build-up, and enmity with China are the features that account for India's prominence in the US's strategic calculations. The US wants to maintain the status quo in the hierarchical structure of the international system, where it is enjoying the apex position as global hegemon, while the second-tier states such as China may pose a challenge to US hegemony in future. It is natural that great powers always try to contain the rising challenger to their hegemony; therefore, the US chose India as a partner to contain China on the basis of 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend'. The US has three-fold benefits in promoting India: India is a big customer of US defense exports, a cost-free regional sheriff, and a potential containment agent. These three benefits together serve US strategic interests, coinciding with India's objectives, which include support to the economy as well as security interests. Therefore, the India–US collaboration is likely to grow more, where the US will provide its utmost support to India in its endeavor to achieve great-power status, so far as is in the US's interests and policy.

The analysis of India–US cooperation under the strategic partnership suggests that the US has offered India unprecedented help to fulfill its needs, not only in civilian nuclear technology but also in the strategic realm. India has been granted unlimited freedom regarding the qualitative and quantitative development of its nuclear arsenal along with the modernization of its defense capabilities. The loopholes in the agreements with India suggest that they will contribute to the development of India's nuclear arsenal as well as conventional military capacity. There is no profound guarantee about the non-diversion of nuclear technology toward military purposes. India can make qualitative and quantitative improvements in its nuclear arsenal through the transfer of dual-use nuclear technology. There is no assurance that India would not use transferred technology for military purposes through newly trained personnel equipped with advanced US nuclear technology. India has a proven history of betraying the trust and confidence of its benefactors by diverting technology provided for the peaceful use of nuclear energy to the clandestine production of nuclear weapons. The claims about the track record of India are also questionable on the grounds that the NSG was created as a response to India's 1974 nuclear tests when it diverted "atoms for peace" to nuclear weapon development. Given its track

record, India is certain to use the supply of nuclear technology and foreign fuel supplies, meant under the deal for its civil nuclear program, to accelerate its weapons program. Moreover, India can refuse to comply the so-called moratorium on nuclear testing on the basis of weak excuses regarding security issues/concerns. The so-called non-proliferation intentions of the Indian establishment also need to be re-examined through multiple dimensions including the dangers of vertical proliferation.

Given the historical analysis of Pakistan–India relations, both states have always dealt with each other as a security threat. There are a lot of differences between the two states, which have heightened the adversarial character of their relationship and in militarized conflicts on several occasions. However, Pakistan has mostly been victimized by India's hegemonic intentions in regional affairs as well as its intervention in domestic affairs of the state. Despite domestic unrest in Pakistan, India did not have the right to militarily intervene and dismember the country in 1971. This exposed the limits of India's animosity against Pakistan; but on the other side, the creation of Bangladesh as an independent state also shows that Indians do not want to physically capture Pakistan, but rather wanted to weaken the state to the point that it could not challenge Indian hegemony in the region. The Indian intervention in East Pakistan is seen as a practical example of the astounding Indian hegemonic designs in the region. Therefore, Pakistan's quest to ensure its security against Indian dominance is relevant to India's military might. To cope with the challenges emanating from the Indian threat, Pakistan has tried to maintain a conventional military equilibrium with India but its lack of resources did not allow it to match with India, who enjoys comparatively huge resources available to build its conventional military capabilities and has spent a lot on defense budget for decades.

The study establishes that there are wide asymmetries in the conventional military capabilities of the two countries. Various accords show the exceptional treatment by the US of India, such as the Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement, the Communications Compatibility and Security Agreement, the Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement, the Information Exchange Annex, and India's Strategic Trade Authorization-1 status. These will make a significant contribution toward Indian military modernization in conventional warfare capability. Keeping in view the increasing conventional military asymmetries, Pakistan has adapted to develop its missile delivery systems to meet the growing challenge and its dependence on "nuclear capability" has been increased. After taking an overview of the nuclear doctrines of both countries, it is foreseeable that the increasing asymmetries would result in increasing dependence on nuclear weapons. Pakistan has sought to balance India's superiority in the conventional military realm through the advent of nuclear weapons and missile development programs. The conventional military build-up, nuclear deterrence, and outside support have been the major ingredients of strategic equilibrium in the subcontinent. Pakistan's "first use" policy vis-à-vis India's "no first use" maintained the strategic equilibrium after the nuclearization of

South Asia. However, the enhanced India–US Strategic Partnership and India's adventurous Cold Start doctrine, surgical-strikes policy, and missile proliferation and defense capabilities under various agreements with the US are causing the deterioration of the very basis of strategic deterrence in the region.

The current US policy toward South Asia suggests that the India–US collaboration under the strategic partnership has serious strategic implications for Pakistan. One can imagine a regional security system of South Asia where mutual alliance between two powers, India and the US, places a third state, Pakistan, in a less-secure position. The newly created advanced technology, surplus nuclear fuel, and advanced defense resources are now available for use against the third state (Pakistan). The implication is that cooperation created by the India–US Strategic Partnership would offset the India–Pakistan power equilibrium. Keeping this in view, it can be argued that as the India–US partnership is improving, ultimately the power equilibrium between Pakistan and India will tilt in favor of India in terms of nuclear capability which will affect Pakistan's interests in terms of defense, politics, the economy, and external relations. If India emerges as a major power, it will be in a position to manipulate and influence Pakistan in international affairs, as the great powers usually do. The increasing bilateral India–US collaboration as well as the US's help to India in enhancing strategic ties with other nations (India has concluded nuclear trade agreements with France, the UK, Russia, Canada, South Korea, Argentina, Australia, Japan, and other countries) and international export-control regimes will contribute to India's national power, which will subsequently strengthen its military capabilities therefore jeopardizing Pakistan's security.

India–US cooperation will help India not only in enhancing its nuclear arsenal through nuclear cooperation, but will also provide an opportunity to bring advancement in delivery systems, surveillance, reconnaissance, and military communication abilities. The induction of advanced weapon systems will widen asymmetries in conventional military capabilities, compelling Pakistan to increase its dependence on nuclear deterrence, and triggering an arms race in the region. India's Cold Start doctrine and misadventures like surgical strikes, after the India–US convergence, have caused concern in Pakistan's security establishment. Although, currently, India does not have the capacity to launch such attacks as envisioned in the doctrine, the possibility to achieve such capability increases when India is enabled to acquire highly sophisticated defense technologies from the US and other countries, with US support. Aside from implications related to defense capabilities, the India–US Strategic Partnership has increased the intractability of conflicts between India and Pakistan. The US support to India has encouraged it to behave in a more assertive manner in bilateral relations with Pakistan, which is evident from India's response to Pakistan's former army chief's quest for settlement of the Siachin dispute. General Kiyani had stressed the need to settle all the disputes with India, including Siachin, during a visit to the Giyari sector of Siachin in April 2012. This was at first welcomed by India's minister of state for defense, A.K. Antony, but was soon rejected by India's army chief. Therefore, hopes for

settlement of an important dispute were in vain. Moreover, the US pledge to support India for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) will have severe implications for settlement of the Kashmir dispute, which is completely dependent on the implementation of UNSC resolutions regarding the provision of the right to self-determination of the Kashmiri population. This, in turn, implies that the differences between the two countries are not going to be resolved and the prolonged conflicts would keep the region in constant military antagonism, which is perilous for peace and stability in the region.

Pakistan cannot escape from strategic challenges that are nearly at its door. Pakistan's conventional military capacity is insufficient to meet the Indian challenges and the widening asymmetries with India are increasing Pakistan's dependence on nuclear weapons. It is time to tackle these fundamental issues through a coherent strategy. The strategy is all about choices; both what we will do and what we will not do, where we will invest and where we will reduce spending. Delivering the security objectives requires an accelerated focus on indigenous innovation in the core areas of strategic defense capabilities, thereby decreasing reliance on the import of weaponry from the outside world; reducing dependence on US military assistance by developing ties with other nations; and declaring a comprehensive nuclear doctrine to keep deterrence intact. Only with these steps will Pakistan be able to create a defense that has the strength to become independent. In the wake of India-centric threat perception, Pakistan has become a security-conscious state rather than becoming a social welfare state. The taxonomy of Pakistan's rivalry with India and Indian ambitions to achieve great-power status suggest that the prevailing threat perception of Pakistan is not going to change in the near future. Therefore, Pakistan will have to remain in constant military preparedness to deter any threat to its survival as an independent state.

However, after the India–US Strategic Partnership, Pakistan will have to face various challenges ranging from restriction to sanctions on military supplies that have been pivotal in ensuring the country's defense. Indian influence in US policy circles will certainly disrupt Pakistan's military assistance and arms-supplies. India will also use its influence on other countries regarding military relationships with Pakistan as it had done in the past regarding Pakistan's defense trade with the Soviet Union/Russia. Since Indian lobbies have been very instrumental in mitigating Pakistan's strategic interests in the world, it is foreseeable that fulfilling defense requirements through outside imports will be a difficult task for Pakistan. Therefore, there is ardent need to develop domestic defense industries through investment in innovative military research programs. Although Pakistan has a military industrial structure, it is not sufficient for the country's defense needs. Indigenous innovation and industrialization will bring a dual advantage: self-sufficiency in defense procurements and economic development through industrialization.

In terms of policy, Pakistan must declare a transparent and practicable defense policy including the declaration of its nuclear doctrine. A declared

nuclear doctrine can be used as an instrument for achieving national defense objectives and can enable Pakistan to convey the message to its adversaries in a diplomatic lingua. Almost every nuclear weapon state has drafted and declared a nuclear doctrine. Therefore, declaring a nuclear doctrine will not infer any criticism, but rather will provide support in achieving national defense objectives. A declared policy enables inputs from various schools of thought including adversaries' opinions and understanding, which provide sufficient feedback to improve the policy according to the changing requirements for defense. Moreover, it can also lend public support that contributes to strengthening the country's defense. The policy of retaining ambiguity has lost its relevance in the current deterrence scenario because the absence of nuclear doctrine leaves a lacuna for various speculative assessments about the nuclear policy which may be wrong and, therefore, have a negative impact on the effectiveness of nuclear deterrence. Moreover, the advantage of ambiguity does not vanish even after declaring a nuclear doctrine because it does not remove the state's right to amend its nuclear doctrine in a crisis situation. Pakistan should now cash-in the benefits of a declared nuclear doctrine, which have not been reaped yet.

Along with indigenous defense industrial development and the declaration of its nuclear doctrine, Pakistan also needs to adopt intense diplomatic measures to garner international support for its security imperatives and seek the same kind of strategic partnership with other states. There is also a need to counter anti-Pakistan propaganda to improve the state's image because images and perceptions play a vital role in achieving foreign policy objectives. Scarcity of information and resources about Pakistan's viewpoint on various issues of strategic significance supports anti-Pakistan forces in their objectives to isolate and weaken the country's position in international relations. In sum, achieving tangible security objectives needs a collaborative venture of military preparedness supported by indigenous defense industries, a revised defense policy with a declared nuclear doctrine, diplomatic efforts through lobbying, extensive policy research, and disseminating information regarding Pakistan's viewpoint.

As far as the US strategic policy for South Asia is concerned, it seems shortsighted as it is not going to ensure the desired strategic outcome for the US. It is severely flawed. Strategic decision-making is an art that requires complete information as well as acknowledgment of realities on the ground rather than following the wishes of the strategic decision-making elite. There are several factors that influence the process of strategic decision-making, including the international strategic environment, regional strategic postures, and state-specific strategic imperatives. It is pertinent to take into account the state-specific strategic imperative of those states that have a pivotal role in determining the outcome of strategic policy. In the case of South Asia, the US's strategic decision-making elite seem to be incognizant of these basic principles. It is a well-known fact that the US has been dependent on Pakistan's help in achieving its strategic interests since the emergence of the US as a super power after World War II. Whether in the US containment policy against the USSR or

the global war on terror centered in Afghanistan, Pakistan has been a pivotal state in achieving US strategic interests due to its strategic location in South Asia. This is not down to the US's love for Pakistan but its strategic need to keep Pakistan as a partner. Concurrently, the US is again reliant on Pakistan for its success in Afghanistan where the US fears facing another episode like Vietnam. The repeated US demand of "Do More" to Pakistan itself indicates how much the US is reliant on Pakistan. However, this time, the US is adopting a policy of "using sticks" for obtaining Pakistan's support. The aggressive statements against Pakistan by the Trump administration on various occasions have proven to be counterproductive and have pushed Pakistan against the wall where every sovereign country, especially a nuclear weapon state, will naturally choose to desist.

The US's foreign policy regarding South Asia is marred by the its desire to maintain the status quo that ensures its hegemony in world politics. The emergence of China as a potential challenger has pushed the US strategic decision-making elite to the times when George F. Kennan advised the US to follow a policy of containment against the USSR. The US strategic elites have failed to understand the dynamics of modern international politics, where reliance on the traditional theory of Realism is steering US policy. It is pertinent for the US administration to understand the difference between the emergence of the USSR and the emergence of China. The USSR had an aggressive posture where expansionism was the major venture while China is following the policy of economic integration where it is bringing a major chunk of the world economy under its influence. In the same fashion, the difference between the Cold War strategic environment and the current international strategic environment also needs to be understood by the US elite. The former was driven by Realist power competition while the latter is being driven by economic interests. Alliances like NATO are increasingly becoming irrelevant while economic cooperation organizations like the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), etc. have become more fascinating. The current US policy toward Pakistan is part of the greater US objective of containing China. In their endeavor to do this, US strategic thinkers are following the traditional concept of the Balance of Power where the US is bent upon promoting India as a great power to counterbalance the emergence of China.

The US has vowed to help India become a great power in world politics and has extended cooperation in various areas of strategic interests where defense and security cooperation with a nuclear deal are at the top of the list under the India–US Strategic Partnership. This partnership has multiple implications for Pakistan, including the Indian manipulation of the US's strategic influence against Pakistan. The Indian lobby in the US has successfully managed to influence US strategic thinking on South Asia and has driven US–Pakistan relations to their lowest ebb. In their ambitious drive to contain China, US policymakers are mistakenly supporting India without realizing that India has always followed the policy of grinding its own ax. Keeping in view the

strategic realities on the ground, the US policy to coerce Pakistan on the Indian pattern will prove to be counterproductive. The aggressive tone coupled with overwhelming support by the US to the Indian narrative toward Pakistan does not meet the requirements of current strategic realities in South Asia. This will only push Pakistan to seek regional strategic realignments that will never be suitable for the US.

US foreign policy in South Asia needs to be revisited with a departure from the traditional Realist paradigm, adopting a conjuncture of Realism, Liberalism, and Constructivism (Realibcon) in the strategic decision-making process. The Realist paradigm needs to be followed only in determining national security imperatives, the Liberalist approach to meet national security imperatives, and Constructivist instructions to deal with counterparts. Keeping this in view, one can easily understand that China is rising as a potential threat to US hegemony in accordance with the Realist paradigm; but containing China through the Realist prism will prove to be an unwise choice for the US. Promoting India as a counterweight to China is a flawed strategy that will result in the further deterioration of regional as well as international strategic stability, resulting in chaos for the US in world politics. US foreign policy has the false sense of expectation that India will be a prudent asset for countering China. The US must follow the Liberalist paradigm because China's rise is based on economic cooperation rather than military build-up or alliances. Trying to meet the challenges of economic dominance through Realist instruments will be burdensome to the US economy and will contribute to accelerating Chinese economic dominance in the world due to the weakening US economy. Therefore, US reliance on the traditional Realist paradigm to meet the Chinese challenge will prove to be counterproductive and will result in self-deterioration. It is plausible for the US to focus on developing economic ties as well as cooperation with its partner countries rather than exerting coercive means. Last but not least, the US needs to adopt the Constructivist approach, which focuses on understanding the unique characteristics of each state in the conduct of international relations.

In the case of the US's strategic interests in South Asia, the US needs to revisit its policy toward all the relevant states and try to understand each state's specific constructs to pursue its foreign policy objectives. Since Pakistan is a pivotal state regarding the US strategic interests in Afghanistan, the US administration needs to understand the constructs of Pakistan's national security when designing its South Asia policy. In this context, the current US policy toward Pakistan is absolutely flawed due to the predominance of the India-centric threat perception in determining Pakistan's national security imperatives. It is out of the question to ensure Pakistan's support in any endeavor while promoting India as a great power. Therefore, the US policy to support India is in great contrast to the constructs of Pakistan's foreign policy choices. Pakistan is a significant factor in regional politics; the overwhelming support to India and coercing Pakistan will only contribute to worsening the US–Pakistan bilateral relationship, which will never be in the US's strategic interest. A modern approach is needed to address the modern-day phenomenon.

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